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THE
HISTORY OF FRANCE,

FROM THE

FIRST ESTABLISHMENT OF THAT MONARCHY,

BROUGHT DOWN TO, AND INCLUDING

A COMPLETE NARRATIVE

OF THE

LATE REVOLUTION.

IN THREE VOLS.—VOL. III.

Res gestæ regumque ducumque, & tristia bella. Hos.

A NEW EDITION.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE.

Chapter the Thirty-Seventh.

ACCESSION OF LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH--REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS--WAR WITH SPAIN--MISSISSIPPI SCHEME--DEATH OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS--ADMINISTRATION OF CARDINAL FLEURY--WAR WITH THE EMPEROR--LORRAIN UNITED TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE--DEATH OF THE EMPEROR--LEWIS SUPPORTS THE PRETENSIONS OF THE ELECTOR OF BAVARIA TO THE IMPERIAL THRONE--GENERAL WAR THROUGHOUT EUROPE--REBELLION IN GREAT BRITAIN--DEATH OF THE EMPEROR, CHARLES THE SEVENTH--SUCCEEDED BY FRANCIS, CONSORT TO THE QUEEN OF HUNGARY--VICTORIES OF THE FRENCH IN FLANDERS--LOSSES BY SEA--PEACE OF AIX LA CHAPELLE.

THE cares of government, which the tender years of Lewis the Fifteenth rendered him unable to assume, were devolved by the will of the de-

ceased monarch on a council of regency, at the head of which was placed the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood : but the duke received with disgust a disposition, which instead of entrusting to him the sole power, gave him only a casting vote. He appealed from the injurious decision to the parliament of Paris ; that assembly set aside the testament of a king whom living they had feared and obeyed, and declared the duke of Orleans sole regent.

The unfortunate James (from his empty claim to the throne of Great Britain, better afterwards known as the Pretender) had landed in Scotland, and had experienced in his reception the hereditary attachment of that country to the House of Stuart : but the ardour of his undisciplined followers was repulsed by the veteran troops of George the First, who swayed the sceptre of Britain. The pretender himself escaped from the inauspicious coast, to hide his disgrace in Com-
 merce, in Lorrain ; his unhappy adherents perished on the scaffold, or were driven into exile ; and his future hopes were extinguished by the friendship which the regent of France assiduously cultivated with the House of Hanover.

The duke of Orleans possessed courage, penetration, and an understanding im-
 A. D. 1715.
 1716. proved by study : frank and easy in his manners, of all the descendants of Henry
 the

the Fourth he resembled him the most; but his extravagant thirst after novelty and pleasure cast a shade over his more splendid qualities; and his excessive attachment to the fair, impaired his constitution and diminished his reputation. The early measures of his administration afforded to the people the most favourable impressions of his judgment, his equity, and moderation. His gratitude restored to the parliament the right of remonstrating against the edicts of the crown: he compelled those who during the late reign had fattened on the miseries of the people, to disgorge their ill-gotten wealth; he re-peopled the cities that had been deserted, and the lands that had been laid waste by the ravages of war; he promoted commerce, rewarded agriculture; and dispelled the jealousy that Europe had entertained of the turbulent disposition of France, by a close alliance with Great Britain and the United Provinces.

But that tranquillity which the pacific inclinations of the regent promised to main- A. D. 1716.
tain, was soon interrupted by the rest- 1717.
less and intriguing genius of cardinal Alberoni, first minister of Spain. That statesman, whose extravagant and chimerical projects alarmed and astonished Europe, had re-established in a few years the finances and troops of the Spanish monarchy; he now formed the design of recovering

Sardinia from the emperor; of wresting Sicily from the dukes of Savoy, to whom it had been assigned by the treaty of Utrecht; and of establishing the Pretender on the throne of England. He negotiated with the Ottoman Porte; the Czar, Peter the Great, of Russia; and Charles the Twelfth, king of Sweden. The Turks were to resume the war against the emperor, which the courage and conduct of prince Eugene had lately compelled them to relinquish with disgrace; the Russians and Swedes were to invade Great Britain, restore the family of Stuart, and expel the house of Hanover.

But the project of Alberoni was still incomplete as long as the duke of Orleans retained the regency of France. His intrigues soon penetrated into the very capital of that kingdom; he kindled an insurrection in Brittany; introduced in disguise small parties of troops to the support of the insurgents; and excited those who envied the fortune, to oppose the authority and seize the person of the regent. But the vigilance of the duke of Orleans detected the conspiracy; the partizans of Alberoni suffered on the scaffold; the king of Sweden, on whom he principally depended, lost his life in Norway; the Czar was occupied in the internal regulation of his dominions; the Turks refused to enter into new wars; and the ambitious cardinal saw at once the emperor,

ror, the regent of France, and the king of Great Britain, united against him.

Yet this powerful combination did not entirely baffle the extensive schemes of Alberoni; the fleet he had fitted out, ravaged, and reduced the island of Sardinia to the subjection of Spain: from thence it directed its course towards Sicily; successfully landed the forces of Philip; and the banners of that monarch were soon displayed from several of the most considerable towns. But while the Spaniards urged the siege of Messina, they were surprised by the appearance of a British squadron. The fleet of Spain was defeated after a feeble resistance; and the remnant that escaped the pursuit of the victors, abandoned the hopeless enterprise on Sicily, and sought shelter in their own harbours.

The duke of Orleans had declared war against Spain in concert with the English; and the first hostile operations commenced by Lewis the Fifteenth were against his uncle, whom Lewis the Fourteenth had, at the expence of so much blood, established on his throne. The forces of France were entrusted to the marshal duke of Berwick, whose victories had formerly contributed to place the sceptre in the hands of Philip; he successively invested and reduced Ponterabia and St. Sebastian in the province of Biscay; and Spain, overwhelmed with disasters both by sea and

land, consented to sue for peace. The conditions were dictated by the regent of France: he insisted that Philip should dismiss his minister; and Alberoni was delivered to the French troops, and conducted to the frontiers of Italy, having only obtained by his splendid designs the character of a rash and inconsiderate projector. Fontenoy and St. Sebastian were restored to Spain; but Sicily was transferred to the emperor Charles; and the dukes of Savoy, in exchange, acquired Sardinia, and with the title of king have possessed that island ever since.

To cement the kindred thrones of France and Spain, the duke of Orleans projected a double marriage. His own daughter, Mademoiselle Montpensier was united to Don Lewis, prince of the Asturias; and the infanta of Spain was betrothed to her cousin the king of France. The ties of blood but seldom bind ambitious princes; but the late rupture between the two courts had reciprocally opened their eyes to their real interests, and the house of Bourbon was convinced that by unanimity alone it could resist its common enemies.

A. D. 1716. That spirit of enterprise which
 1718. could no longer be displayed in war, was now diverted to the internal regulations of the state. A Scotchman named John Law, who had been obliged to fly from England for murder,

der, had formed the plan of a company that might pay off the debts of a nation by notes, and reimburse itself by its profits. This needy adventurer had wandered through Europe, and endeavoured to excite the attention of various courts. He first opened his project to Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy, and who afterwards acquired the title of king of Sardinia; but that prince rejected the proposal, with the reply, "that he was not rich enough to ruin himself." It was received with more favourable prepossessions in France; every circumstance of public affairs contributed to recommend it; a debt of two hundred millions oppressed the state; no common resources appeared equal to the enormous burthen; and the inclinations of the people, ever prone to novelty, were seconded by the disposition of the regent.

The bank at first issued their notes with caution; but the credit with which they were attended, soon increased the amount; its connection with the Mississippi, a trading company, from which great advantages were expected, allured the public with the hopes of extraordinary gain. It now aspired to grander objects; was declared the bank of the King; embraced the management of the trade to Senegal; acquired the privileges which the celebrated Colbert had granted to the

old East India Company ; and, finally, engrossed the farming of the national taxes.

A. D. 1719. But this plan, which, if confined with-
 1720. in proper bounds, might have been attended with the most salutary effects, soon burst the limits that had been proposed ; and sweeping before it the feeble barriers of policy and discretion, overwhelmed the nation in its rapid course. Thousands daily crowded to exchange their gold for bills ; and the fluctuation of the stock afforded an opportunity to obscure individuals to acquire immense fortunes. The notes circulated exceeded fourscore times the real value of the current coin of the kingdom. At length the delusion was dispelled : the basis of the fabric was credit ; and the moment a doubt prevailed, the whole edifice fell to the ground. By drawing upon it for considerable sums, the late financiers and great bankers exhausted the royal bank ; every one was now as eager to convert their notes into money, as they were lately to convert their money into notes ; but the disproportion was enormous ; the arrears of the regent, instead of restoring confidence to the people, extinguished it ; and the same year that gave birth to the Company's actions, beheld them return to their primitive nothing.

Law himself, the author of this fatal project, who had been raised from a mere adventurer to
 a lord,

a lord, and from a banker to a minister of state, was the same year loaded with the public execration, obliged to fly the country he had attempted to enrich, and had entirely ruined. He went off in a post-chaise that was lent him by the duke of Bourbon-Condé with only two thousand louis d'ors, the scanty remnant of his transitory opulence; subsisted some time in London on the liberality of a French nobleman; and died at Venice in a state little removed from indigence.

It was not France alone that was afflicted by the credulous avarice of her people; in London, in Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, the same spirit of speculation prevailed. The English entered with similar ardour into the visionary hopes of the South Sea Company, and experienced a similar disappointment. Those shares which had been eagerly sought after at the price of one thousand pounds sterling, were in the course of the same month sold for one hundred and fifty; and so extensive had the infatuation spread, that Europe trembled at the prospect of a general bankruptcy.

The attention of the regent was en- A. D. 1720.
grossed in assuaging the distraction 1721.
which the project of Law had excited. An account and valuation were taken of the private fortunes of individuals; and this laborious work was planned, digested, and conducted by four brothers

thers of the name of Paris, who had never before any connection with public affairs, but whose genius and application deserved to be entrusted with the wealth of the nation. They established a sufficient number of offices for the masters of requests and other judges; they reduced to order the huge and misshapen chaos before them; five hundred eleven thousand and nine persons, most of them fathers of families, brought their whole fortunes in paper to this tribunal; the enormous demand was liquidated at a certain sum, and government became responsible for the future payment of it.

The parliament of Paris, by their support of the pretensions of the duke of Orleans to the regency, had excited his gratitude; their opposition to the brilliant but fatal project of Law had aroused his indignation: he banished them to Pontoise; and the citizens, who in the minority of Lewis the Fourteenth had vindicated the privileges of that assembly by a general insurrection, now beheld them exiled without a single murmur. A dearth that depopulated Provence, was submitted to with more honourable resignation; commerce soon repaired the distress the late innovations had occasioned; and the court, which on the death of Lewis had resumed its wonted magnificence, was now distinguished by superior luxury and profusion.

The

The regent had elevated to the post A. D. 1720.
of minister, cardinal Dubois; a man 1722.
who, descended from an obscure apothecary in a
remote province, had acquired the first dignities of
the church, and the most eminent situation in the
state. By the recommendation of the duke of
Vendôme, he was introduced into the family of the
late duke of Orleans, and preferred to be tutor to
the present; by administering to the pleasures of
his pupil he gained his confidence; a small share
of wit, a strong turn for debauchery, great flexibi-
lity, and, above all, a taste like his master's for sin-
gularity, raised his immense fortune: yet he still
remained rather the companion of the regent's ex-
cesses than the partner of his counsels. A court
thoughtless, dissipated, and unprincipled, only ri-
diculed that promotion they ought to have re-
garded with indignation; and death soon after in-
terrupted the licentious career of the cardinal,
who expired as he had lived, with a thorough con-
tempt of all religious ceremonies.

The king had now attained that age A. D. 1723.
which was fixed for his majority; the
regency of course expired; and the duke of Or-
leans assumed the title of minister. But his own
life also drew near its end; his constitution was
shaken by excess, and his intemperate passions al-
lowed him not to follow that regimen his physicians
prescribed:

prescribed: he himself had been strongly addicted to chemistry; and his attachment to that science had awakened the jealousy of the people. At the close of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, when the sudden deaths of the royal family opened to him a prospect of succeeding to the throne, public rumour had accused him of hastening their deaths by his deadly arts. But his subsequent conduct effaced the injurious suspicion; with paternal care he watched over the tender years of Lewis; nor is it probable that the man, whose ambition had sought a crown through the death of so many, should have hesitated to complete his crimes by extinguishing the life of a feeble infant. A. D. 1723. On the death of the duke of Orleans, the reins of government were committed to the hands of the duke of Bourbon-Condé. A king young, indolent, and uninstructed; a minister without talents or ambition, and a kingdom at peace, furnish but slender materials for the pen of the historian. In Spain, Philip the Fifth, who in pursuit of that throne had deluged Europe with blood, gave way to a settled melancholy. Devotion served only to inflame him with the love of retirement, and he resigned his crown to his eldest son Don Lewis. On the death of that prince, which happened soon after, he was prevailed on to resume it: but indifferent to the
cares

cares of government, he abandoned himself to the ascendancy of his consort, the daughter of Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy; but who, with the island, had acquired the title of king of Sardinia. The late duke of Orleans had engaged the hand of the king of France to the Infanta of Spain; but though that princess had been received at Paris with the honours of a queen, the tender years of Lewis allowed him not to consummate his marriage. As he advanced to maturity, the courtiers discovered through his natural indolence, and that politeness which he ever cultivated, a pointed aversion to the intended partner of his bed. The people, impatient of an union which might extinguish their hopes of male issue, and expose the kingdom, by a disputed succession, to the calamities of civil war, loudly murmured against the duke of Bourbon; the minister, though reluctantly, yielded to the general voice; he sent back the infanta; and the queen of Spain, daring, violent, and implacable, would probably have resented the insult by open hostilities, had not her turbulent disposition already engaged her in a dispute with the empire.

This was the only political event that characterized the short and languid administration of the duke of Bourbon-Condé. The reins of government soon after dropped from his hands

A. D. 1726.

hands into those of cardinal Fleury : At the age of seventy-three, that prelate devoted the remains of a life which hitherto had challenged the public esteem, to the ungrateful toils that attend ministerial power ; and at a period when the most ambitious seek repose, entered the lists of fame. Yet he himself was distinguished for his simplicity and modesty, and with reluctance had exposed his virtuous manners to the contagion of a court. He had been appointed in the former reign to the bishopric of Frejus, a see in a distant and disagreeable country ; and he was so disgusted with the situation that he soon after subscribed a familiar letter, “ Fleury, by the divine indignation, “ bishop of Frejus.” But in that station he practised the same œconomy that he afterwards displayed in a more eminent condition ; and though the see of Frejus, when he was nominated to it, was heavily burthened with debts, yet he resigned it clear and unincumbered. The state of his health was the pretence for his resignation ; and candour will excuse the inoffensive deceit that enabled him to relinquish a dignity so many anxiously sought after. The solicitations of marshal Villeroy prevailed on the late king to appoint Fleury, by a codicil in his will, preceptor to his infant grandson ; and if we may believe the confidential letter of that prelate to cardinal

dinal Quirini, he undertook the important trust with regret.

But though he unwillingly accepted the envied appointment, yet he discharged it with unimpeached fidelity and diligence. Above the intrigues of a court, he disdained the cabals which a minority foster, and endeavoured to form the mind of his royal pupil to business, to secrecy, and to probity. The soil indeed but ill repaid his culture; yet the regent, licentious as he was, saw and approved the virtues which he neglected to imitate: The esteem of the public was mingled with the regard of the prince; and his amiable and prudent disposition excited the universal wish of France to see him at the head of affairs.

The gratitude of his pupil at length A. D. 1726, concurred with the voice of the people, 1729, and cardinal Fleury, while he rejected the invidious title of prime minister, ruled the kingdom with absolute authority. The administration of the duke of Bourbon-Condé had expired after restoring the Infanta to Spain, with providing a new alliance for his sovereign, more congenial to his inclinations.

Stanislaus Leszczinski had been raised to the throne of Poland by the victorious arms of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, and experienced, after the defeat of Pultowa, the vicissitudes which mark the singular

singular life of that royal adventurer. The nobility of Poland had recognized their former sovereign, Augustus, elector of Saxony, whom the Swedish king had compelled to relinquish the crown, and to retire within his electoral dominions. Stanislaus descended from the throne with a mind superior to fortune, and cultivated in private life the virtues which had distinguished him in public. His daughter Mary still retained the title of princess, and that lady was chosen by the prince to share the bed of Lewis; their nuptials were celebrated with royal magnificence: The new queen, destitute of personal charms, never perhaps inspired with love the bosom of her consort, who soon began to indulge his taste for variety; but her meekness, piety, and ready acquiescence to his will, extorted his esteem; and the birth of a dauphin, the fruits of their union, established the peaceable succession of the crown, and banished the fears of the people.

A. D. 1729, The pacific disposition of Fleury cor-
 1732. responded with the immediate welfare of France; he quietly left the kingdom to repair its losses, and to enrich itself by an advantageous and extensive commerce, without making any innovations; and treated the state in his political system like a strong and robust body, which recovers by the vigour of its own constitution.

At

At length the death of Augustus, A. D. 1733.
king of Poland and elector of Saxony,
rekindled throughout Europe the flames of war.
The free suffrages of the Poles called Stanislaus,
the father-in-law of Lewis, to that throne from
which he once already had descended with a mag-
nanimity scarce to be equalled: but his election
was opposed by the empire and the Russians, who
under the invigorating genius of Peter the Great,
had lately emerged from obscurity. That monarch
had given laws, discipline and knowledge, to the
immense deserts of Muscovy; had broken the
power of the Swedes, which so long had overawed
the North; and assumed in the balance of Europe
that place which they had formerly occupied.
His successor now entered into a confederacy with
the emperor to support the nomination of the son
of the late king to the crown of Poland; their
numerous forces deluged that unhappy country;
and Stanislaus besieged in Dantzic, escaped from
the tottering walls of that city in disguise, eluded
the vigilance of his enemies, and, after a variety
of dangers and adventures, reached the dominions
of his son-in-law in safety.

A feeble attempt had been made by A. D. 1734.
Fleury to succour Dantzic; and fifteen 1736.
hundred French, detached for that purpose, were
overwhelmed by an host of Russians. Augustus

the Third was established on the throne of Poland by the united arms of Anne of Russia and the emperor Charles the Sixth; the distance of the former was alone sufficient to secure her from the resentment of the French; but the dominions of the emperor were both accessible and vulnerable; and France prepared to avenge by arms the outrage that had dispossessed Stanislaus of Poland. Charles Emanuel, king of Sardinia, (for Victor Amadeus had resigned his throne) concurred in the views of the courts of Madrid and Versailles; the confederates poured their troops into Italy, and swept all resistance before them; while France asserted her superiority on the banks of the Rhine, and reduced Khiel, Trierbach, and Philippsburgh.

The emperor bent before the storm, and received the conditions of peace, which the victorious arms of France imposed. Don Carlos, second son to the king of Spain, was acknowledged as king of Naples and Sicily, both of which were dismembered from the house of Austria; the king of Sardinia obtained, in the duchy of Milan, the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langes; to Francis, duke of Lorraine, was assigned the inheritance of the house of Medicis; and the duchies of Lorraine and Bar were ceded by the duke to the crown of France.

Stanislaus, on whose account this war had been
con-

commenced, resigned in the treaty his pretensions to the kingdom of Poland, but was permitted to retain the title of king. The liberality of Lewis rendered that dignity more respectable by bestowing on his father-in-law, during his life, the duchies of Bar and Lorrain, which he had just acquired; after the death of Stanislaus these territories reverted to the crown, and were indissolubly united to the dominions of France.

The disputes of Spain and England, A. D. 1737. respecting the trade of America, only ^{1739.} feebly interrupted the tranquillity of Europe; and cardinal Fleury still pursued in France that pacific system to which he was so strongly attached. Instead of arming the neighbouring potentates against each other, he incessantly laboured to extinguish their jealousies, and reconcile their hostile dispositions. He conciliated for a moment the Genoese and Corsicans, who had already plunged themselves into the calamities of civil war; and his mediation was even accepted by the Ottoman Porte; which desisted from improving its advantages in Hungary, and at his powerful intercession granted peace to the distress of the emperor.

But this happiness was not of long duration; the emperor Charles the ^{A. D. 1740.} Sixth, the last prince of the house of Austria, ex-

pired in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and his death awakened the pretensions of the different princes of Europe. Maria Theresa, the emperor's eldest daughter, married to Francis of Lorraine, grand duke of Tuscany, claimed by right of blood, and by the guarantee of the different powers of Europe, the whole of the Austrian succession. This comprised the kingdoms of Hungaria and Bohemia, the province of Silesia, Austria Swabia, Upper and Lower Austria, Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, the four forest towns, Burgaw, Briggaw, the Low Countries, Friuli, Tirol, the duchy of Milan, and the duchies of Parma and Placentia.

That princess, though she was permitted peaceably to take possession of this vast inheritance, was not without competitors. Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, from the will of Ferdinand the First, brother to the emperor Charles the Fifth, asserted his right to Bohemia; the king of Sardinia resumed his claim on Milan; the kings of Spain and Poland urged their pretensions to the whole succession; nor was Lewis the Fifteenth destitute of a similar claim; he was descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by two princesses married to his ancestors, Lewis the Thirteenth and Lewis the Fourteenth; but he wished not to awaken the jealousy

lously of Europe, and entertained hopes of aggrandizing himself, and of dismembering the Austrian dominions, by supporting the pretensions of another.

Yet Maria Theresa rather confided in, than was alarmed at, the number of the claimants; she had ingratiated herself with the Hungarians, by voluntarily taking the ancient oath of their sovereigns, by which their subjects are allowed, if their privileges are invaded, to defend themselves, without being treated as rebels; and was engaged in traversing, in favour of her consort, the designs of France, that endeavoured to fix the imperial crown on the head of the elector of Bavaria, when she was surprised by the invasion of a new and unexpected pretender. The king of Prussia, Frederick the Third, laid claim to four duchies in Silesia; he suddenly entered that country, defeated the Austrians near Molwitz, and occupied the whole of the duchy.

The victory of Molwitz was the signal for war; cardinal Fleury, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, was indeed but little inclined to relinquish the pacific system that he adored; but he was overwhelmed by the impetuous eloquence and enterprising spirit of the brothers, the marechal and chevalier de Belleisle. These represented to Lewis that the period was now arrived of finally break-

ing the power of the house of Austria, and exalting that of Bourbon on its ruins; and that so favourable an opportunity never again would offer of raising the elector of Bavaria to the imperial throne. The assent of a monarch, whose vanity was great, and discernment little, was easily obtained to this splendid project; and cardinal Fleury tottering on the brink of the grave, yet still enamoured of power, consented to sanction with his name an enterprize he had never approved, and to preside over a people whose councils he was not permitted to direct.

The count of Belleisle negotiated a treaty with the king of Prussia, by which the elector of Bavaria, with the imperial crown, was to possess Bohemia, Upper Austria, and the Tyrolese; the king of Poland was to be gratified with Moravia and the Upper Silesia; and Frederic was to retain Lower Silesia, with the town of Neiss, and the county of Glatz. To enforce these conditions, the French troops were immediately put in motion. Lewis appointed the elector of Bavaria, whom he meant to place in the first rank among Christian princes, his lieutenant-general, with the marshals Belleisle and Broglio to act under him.

A. D. 1741. The success of the French was rapid,
 1742. splendid, and transient; the king of
 England was reduced to conclude a neutrality as
 elector

elector of Hanover for his German dominions; the confederates surprised Passau, possessed themselves of Lintz, and menaced Vienna. Maria Theresa retired from her capital to Presburgh in Hungary; and that generous people vowed to conquer or die in the service of their sovereign. New and formidable armies were in an instant supplied by their enthusiastic loyalty; the French declined the dangerous neighbourhood of Vienna, directed their march into Bohemia, and in conjunction with the Saxons reduced the city of Prague: from that important acquisition the elector of Bavaria pursued his route to Frankfort; and was there elected emperor, under the title of Charles the Seventh, and invested with the ensigns of imperial authority.

But from the moment that he attained this envied dignity, the hours of that prince were invariably devoted to calamity: jealousies already prevailed among the confederates; the French army was in its progress continually diminished by sickness or desertion; George the Second, distinguishing between his capacity of king of Great-Britain and elector of Hanover, resolved as the former to support the queen of Hungary; and the very day that Charles was proclaimed emperor at Frankfort, he received intelligence that Lintz had been recovered by the Austrian general

Khevenhuller, though defended by ten thousand veteran troops of France.

Even this disaster was soon forgotten in an event more important and more fatal. The king of Prussia had penetrated into Moldavia, but was compelled to retire before prince Charles of Lorraine; reinforced by the prince of Anhalt Dessau, he suddenly turned on his pursuers. At Czaflaw he engaged and defeated the Austrians; but with his usual sagacity, he seized the moment of victory to conclude an advantageous peace at Breslaw, which left him in possession of the Upper and Lower Silesia, with the county of Glatz. At the same time a treaty was signed between the queen of Hungary and Augustus the Third, king of Poland, which transferred to the latter a considerable extent of country in the kingdom of Bohemia.

The French received with astonishment and dismay the intelligence of the treaty of Breslaw. Deserted by their two most powerful allies, and pressed by the superior numbers of the Austrians, they retreated precipitately under the walls of Prague. A second army, under marechal Maillebois, was detached to their assistance; but prince Charles had already occupied the passes of the intervening mountains: Maillebois was obliged to retreat; and the French in Prague were only saved from the disgrace

disgrace of surrendering by the skill and courage of marechal Belleisle; who eluded the vigilance of the Austrians, and though incessantly pursued by a superior enemy, in the depth of winter, successfully conducted his army through a hostile country above ninety miles to the friendly walls of Egra.

Italy presented to the contending powers, a campaign equally vigorous and diffusive with that of Germany. Philip the Fifth, who had already established one son on the throne of the two Sicilies, was desirous of placing a crown on the head of Philip his son, by a second marriage with Elizabeth Farnese, daughter to the duke of Parma. Parma, Placentia, and the Milanese were the territories he aspired to. The king of Sardinia, alarmed at the progress of the House of Bourbon, had lately renounced his alliance with the courts of Versailles and Madrid, and entered into engagements with the queen of Hungary, and the king of England; but the king of the two Sicilies, while he professed himself neuter, secretly prepared to support the ambitious designs of his family. From this intention he was diverted by the unwelcome appearance of an English squadron in the Bay of Naples; commodore Martin, to whom was intrusted the proud commission of humbling the enemies of Great Britain, threatened

to

to bombard Naples, unless he received a peremptory and satisfactory answer in the space of an hour; and the king, to avert the destruction of his capital, engaged to preserve a strict neutrality during the course of the war.

A. D. 1743. The hostile armies, by the evacuation of Prague, were transferred from the banks of the Danube to those of the Rhine; and Cardinal Fleury, oppressed by increasing years and the disappointments of his country, closed a life, that would have been terminated with more glory before the commencement of war. The king on his decease, determined to be his own minister and to put himself at the head of the army. The king of England had already taken the field with forty thousand English, Hanoverians, and Austrians. At the village of Dettingen, near the banks of the Mayne, he was attacked by marshal Noailles. Had the French patiently occupied the neighbouring heights, the confederates must have surrendered at discretion; but their ardour precipitated them on the allies, and their temerity was chastised by a severe defeat. The king of England, instead of improving his advantage, prosecuted his march to Hanau; and the duke of Noailles, after collecting his scattered forces, hastened to join marshal Coigny in Upper Alsace, who was threatened by prince Charles of Lorraine.

In

In Italy, a bloody but indecisive battle was fought at Campo Santo, between the Spaniards, commanded by count de Gages, and the Austrians and Piedmontese, under count Traun; yet though both claimed the honour of the field, the former thought it prudent soon after to repass the Pareno, and to take shelter in the ecclesiastical territories.

To distract the attention of the English, Lewis the Fifteenth resolved to A. D. 1744.
espouse the fortunes of the exiled house of Stuart. Charles Edward, eldest son to the Chevalier de St. George, the grandson of the unfortunate James the Second, had, on the first sound of war, been invited into France. It was now proposed to prove how far the affections of England stood inclined to him; an army of fifteen thousand men was assembled in Picardy, under count Saxe; a number of transports were collected at Calais, Dunkirk, and Boulogne; and Charles, to whom his father had delegated his pretensions, left Rome, and arrived in the French camp. But an English squadron, under Sir John Norris, rode triumphant in the channel; and though the combined fleets of France and Spain maintained soon after, in the Mediterranean, a doubtful conflict with that of England, yet Lewis ventured not to encounter that people in their own seas; and the young pretender was obliged to wait a more favourable opportunity.

Lewis

Lewis himself invaded Flanders; and seconded by the duke of Noailles, and count Saxe, natural son to Augustus the Second, king of Poland, and who by his military exploits revived the fame of Condé and Turenne, successively reduced Menin, Ypres and Furnes. From this scene of conquest he was soon recalled to the defence of his own dominions; prince Charles of Lorraine had passed the Rhine at the head of sixty thousand Austrians, had taken Weisenberg, and laid all Lower Alsace under contribution. To repel this invasion, marshal Noailles was detached with forty thousand choice troops; while marshal Saxe in Flanders, by his masterly movements, baffled the designs of the allies, though far superior in numbers.

With a considerable reinforcement, Lewis prepared to follow the steps of Noailles; but at Metz he was seized with a putrid fever that threatened his life, and retarded the operations of his generals. His danger diffused consternation throughout the kingdom; and the uncommon transports of joy with which his recovery was attended, touched the heart of the monarch himself; nor could he help exclaiming, "What a pleasure is it to be thus beloved! What have I done to deserve it!"

But the king depended not alone on his own arms for the defence of Alsace; he had already negotiated

gociated a new alliance with the king of Prussia; and Frederic, sensible that if the queen of Hungary should again acquire the ascendancy, the treaty of Breslaw would prove a feeble barrier to her ambition, once more penetrated into Bohemia, and extended his ravages as far as Moldaw. Prince Charles repassed the Rhine, to check the progress of this formidable enemy; and Frederic, in his turn, was obliged to evacuate Bohemia with precipitation, and retire into Silesia; while Lewis, availing himself of the retreat of the Austrians, invested and reduced Friburg.

The prince of Conti entered Italy, and having effected a junction with Don Philip, whose aggrandizement first plunged Spain into the tumult of war, attacked the strong post of Chateau Dauphin, where the king of Sardinia commanded in person. It was carried after an obstinate conflict, and the confederates immediately laid siege to Coni, the possession of which was necessary to open them a passage into the Milanese. But though they obtained a second victory over Charles Emanuel, disease pervaded the camp; they were compelled to retire from the inauspicious walls, evacuate Piedmont, repass the Alps, and shelter the remnant of their way-worn followers in Dauphiné.

Amidst

A. D. 1745. Amidst the various vicissitudes of war, the emperor Charles the Seventh was once more restored to his capital; but his situation, on the retreat of the Prussians, grew more precarious every hour. His frame was exhausted by incessant anxiety, and death delivered him from again exhibiting to Europe the spectacle of imperial misery. His son Maximilian Joseph, a youth of seventeen, concluded, through the mediation of the king of Great Britain, a treaty with the queen of Hungary, which established him in the peaceable possession of the Electorate of Bavaria; and rejected the alliance of France, which had proved so fatal to his father.

Lewis in vain tempted the ambition of Augustus, king of Poland, with the imperial crown; that monarch rejected the splendid allurements, and maintained his engagements with the queen of Hungary and the king of England; and the court of Versailles had soon after the mortification of beholding Francis of Lorraine, the consort of the former, invested with the imperial dignity at Frankfort. Yet France still obstinately pursued the war; and her monarch, accompanied by the dauphin, in Flanders animated his forces by his presence: commanded by count Saxe, they laid siege to Tournay, one of the strongest towns in the Austrian Netherlands. The English, the Dutch,

Dutch, and the Austrians, under the duke of Cumberland, second son to the king of England, advanced to the relief of that place: The plains of Fontenoy were rendered memorable by the bloody and obstinate conflict. At length the allies were broken by the numbers of their enemies, and the superior skill of count Saxe; they retreated with considerable loss, occupied soon after a strong camp between Brussels and Antwerp, and remained inactive during the rest of the campaign; while the French reduced by stratagem or force Tournay, Oudenarde, Ath, Dendermond, Ghent, Ostend, Nieuport, and the principal fortified places through Austrian Flanders.

The success of the house of Bourbon in Italy was equally rapid; Don Philip and marechal Maillebois pressed with their superior forces the king of Sardinia and Schulenberg. Charles Emmanuel retired behind the Po, and even trembled for the fate of his capital; while the kindred armies of France and Spain deluged all Italy; and Don Carlos closed the campaign with a triumphant entry into Milan.

Nor were the operations of the king of Prussia less brilliant or decisive. In Silesia and Bohemia he successively defeated prince Charles of Lorraine; and from the victories of Fridbourg and Slandentz, poured the torrent of his arms into Saxony,

Saxony. He soon made himself master of Dresden; and the king of Poland, anxious for the capital of his electoral dominions, purchased peace from the victor by the payment of a million of German crowns. It was the intention of Frederick to protect, but not to aggrandize the house of Bourbon; he had no longer any thing to dread from the Austrian power, and he concluded a second treaty with the queen of Hungary, which confirmed that of Breslaw, and guarantied to him the possession of Silesia, on acknowledging the validity of the emperor's election.

France was astonished at the repeated desertion of so powerful an ally; but Lewis was encouraged to persevere by a new enterprise, which at first promised the most decisive advantage. Though the squadrons of France could not hope to elude the vigilance of the naval commanders of Great Britain, yet the young pretender successfully traversing the seas in a single vessel, landed with a few adherents on the coast of Scotland. The inhabitants of that kingdom had ever been attached to the family of Stuart; and no sooner was the standard of Charles erected, than it was joined by some thousands of hardy and ferocious mountaineers. He occupied Edinburgh, was solemnly proclaimed there with all the forms of legal authority, and soon after defeated the royal forces

forces at Preston Pans. The road now lay open to London; and George, though insensible of personal fear, trembled for his capital. But the Pretender was intoxicated with success; he returned to Edinburgh, to enjoy the vain parade of royalty, while the British troops were recalled from Flanders, and a new and formidable army was formed by the zeal of the royalists. It was entrusted to the duke of Cumberland, the second son of George, and who had commanded in the disastrous field of Fontenoy. The Pretender, who had at length quitted the pleasures of Edinburgh and penetrated as far as Derby, within an hundred and twenty miles of London, now retired before the veteran forces of the duke. An ineffectual victory which he afterwards obtained over a detachment of the royalists at Falkirk near Stirling, served only to embitter his subsequent defeat. On Culloden Moor, at the head of his brave but disorderly followers, he presumed to encounter the superior forces of the royalists, whose valour was confirmed by discipline, and who were animated by the gallantry of the duke of Cumberland. The decision of the day was such as might have been expected; the rebels were repulsed, and pursued with cruel slaughter; and after enduring a series of incredible hardships for five months, and repeatedly eluding the ac-

tive resentment of his enemies, the Pretender himself escaped in a small vessel to France; but the scaffold was stained with the blood of his principal adherents, and his party in this fatal enterprize was for ever extinguished.

A. D. 1746. To balance this disappointment, Lewis opened the campaign in Flanders at the head of one hundred and twenty thousand men; invested and reduced Brussels, the capital of Brabant; took Mons and Charleroy; and rendered himself master of Flanders, Brabant, and Liege. He soon after laid siege to Namur; and that city, situated on the conflux of the Sambre and the Meuse, and defended by a garrison of nine thousand men, was obliged to surrender. The confederates, though commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine, were disconcerted and soon after defeated by the superior address of marshal Saxe; and this victory, which the advanced season of the year prevented the marshal from improving, terminated the campaign in the Low Countries.

In Italy the house of Bourbon was less successful; Asti, though garrisoned by five thousand French, was surprised by the king of Sardinia; Don Philip and Maillebois were repulsed in an obstinate attack on the Austrian camp at St Lazzaro; and this disaster was succeeded by the intelligence

telligence that Philip the Fifth was no more. That prince, the first of the House of Bourbon who sat upon the Spanish throne, was governed by two women, who successively shared his bed, and ruled his kingdom with absolute sway: the latter maintained her ascendancy even after the death of her consort; and under the reign of Ferdinand the Sixth, still continued to direct the councils of Madrid.

Don Philip and Maillebois, informed of the death of Philip the Fifth, and still ignorant of the sentiments of his successor, retired before the Austrian army, and took shelter under the cannon of Genoa; they soon after abandoned this situation, and Don Philip retreated towards Savoy, while marechal Maillebois reposed his harassed forces in Provence. The Austrians immediately occupied Genoa; and that proud city was subjected to the most humiliating conditions. But the arrogance and rapacity of general Botta at length excited the general indignation of the inhabitants; they rose in arms against their conquerors; despair animated their efforts; and the veterans of Germany were obliged to yield to the fury of a crowd of undisciplined citizens. After an ineffectual struggle they evacuated the city; and the Genoese, conscious that they were still surrounded by their oppressors, prepared by every

prudent precaution to fortify in future their freedom.

A. D. 1747. In the East Indies the honour of the French flag was asserted by La Bourdonnais, who dispossessed the English of their settlement of Madras, on the coast of Coromandel; but it was in the Netherlands that Lewis prepared to make the most vigorous efforts. An army of one hundred and fifty thousand men was assembled under marischal Saxe; and that celebrated commander detached count Lowendahl with twenty-seven thousand men to invade Dutch Brabant. The French minister at the same time presented a memorial to the States, declaring that his master, by thus entering the territories of the States, meant only to obviate the dangerous effects of the protection that they afforded to the troops of the queen of Hungary and the king of England. In the mean time Lowendahl made himself master of Sluys, Sandberg, and Hulst; and having taken possession of Axtel and Terneuse, was meditating a descent on Zealand, when a British squadron defeated his purpose, and a revolution in the government of Holland made a retreat necessary.

Struck with consternation at the progress of the French arms, the inhabitants of the United provinces, believing themselves betrayed, tumultuously

ously rose against the ministers of the Republic, and compelled the magistrates to declare the prince of Orange Stadtholder ; a dignity which had been laid aside since the death of William the Third. The beneficial effects of this revolution to the confederates, soon appeared in several vigorous measures ; and instant orders were given by the States for commencing hostilities against France both by sea and land, though without any formal declaration of war.

Lewis himself soon after joined his army in Flanders, and the siege of Maestricht was resolved on. The confederates, to preserve that city, determined to hazard a general engagement ; the village of Val or Laffeldt was the object of their mutual efforts : But though the English were compelled to abandon the field with loss, yet the duke of Cumberland in his retreat reinforced the garrison of Maestricht ; and marshal Saxe, after amusing the allies with a variety of complicated movements, detached count Lowendahl with thirty thousand men to invest Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification in Dutch Brabant.

This experienced general and great master in the art of reducing fortified places, now encountered in the favourite work of Vauban, an object worthy his skill. The town was garrisoned with three thousand men, and could be reinforced on the shortest

notice by a considerable army of the allies, which took possession of the lines belonging to the fortification. The eyes of Europe were fixed on the fate of Bergen-op-Zoom; each instrument of destruction was incessantly employed on both sides; the town was reduced to ashes; the trenches were filled with carnage; yet the out-works were in a great measure entire, and the event of the enterprise seemed still doubtful; when count Lowendahl demonstrated that there are occasions when it is necessary to go beyond the established rules of art.

That general resolved to attempt by a coup-de-main those works which still resisted his regular approaches. The attack was made in the middle of the night, and at three places at once. The besieged, aroused from their security, in vain endeavoured to repel the assailants; the French grenadiers were already in the town; two regiments of Swiss and Scotch, who had assembled in the market-place, still disputed the day, and were cut to pieces; the rest, with the governor, retired to the lines: the army that had occupied those, immediately retreated; and the French became masters of the whole navigation of the Scheld.

Lewis, on the intelligence of this event, raised Lowendahl to the dignity of marechal, and returned

turned in triumph to Versailles. But the satisfaction which attended his acquisitions in Flanders was alloyed by a series of unfortunate events. Marechal Belleisle had assumed the command in Italy, and had detached his brother the chevalier with thirty thousand men, to penetrate into Piedmont. On the road to Exilles twenty-one battalions of Piedmontese, secured by ramparts of stone and wood, and defended by a formidable artillery, opposed his progress. Belleisle, daring and emulous of fame, attacked the entrenchments with the greatest intrepidity : in three successive assaults he was repulsed, yet he still returned to the charge ; and the moment that he had planted with his own hand the colours of his king on the hostile battlements, he fell dead, having received the thrust of a bayonet, and two musquet balls in his body. The survivors, discouraged by his death, immediately retreated ; and so certain was the destructive aim of the Piedmontese, and the obstinacy of the assailants, that the number of the slain more than doubled that of the wounded.

Marechal Belleisle was no sooner informed of the fate of his brother than he retreated towards the Var, to join the unfortunate army from Exilles ; and the king of Sardinia was only prevented by the unfavourable season and heavy rains, from carrying his victorious arms into Dauphine. But

the most fatal blow to France, was the total destruction of her marine; the English began at length to exert themselves on that element, on which they have so repeatedly triumphed. The marquis de le Jonquiere with six ships of the line and as many frigates, was intercepted by the admirals Anson and Warren with fourteen sail of the line: the French defended themselves with conduct and courage; but they were oppressed by numbers, and ten ships of war were taken. On the coast of Brittany Monsieur l'Estendeure displayed similar gallantry with the same ill fortune; with seven ships of the line he was attacked by admiral Hawke, who commanded fourteen; and after an obstinate resistance, six of those ships became the prey of the English victors.

In America the English had conquered Cape Breton and reduced Louisburgh; and the king of France, while he beheld his marine annihilated and his commerce extinguished, was alarmed by the menacing countenance of a new and formidable enemy. The gold of England had influenced the councils of Petersburg, and fifty thousand Russians prepared to add new horror to the rage of war. In the midst of his victories the king of France had invariably expressed his wishes for peace; and the storm that threatened from the north rendered him still more impatient to deliver his

his subjects from the calamities of war : an ineffectual congress had been held at Breda, and negotiations were this year resumed at Aix-la-Chapelle with better success.

To enforce his proposal, Lewis commanded mareschal Saxe, with a A. D. 1748. numerous army, to invest Maestricht. The danger of that city quickened the deliberations of the allies : the French had already effected a lodgment in the covered way with considerable loss ; but they were expelled by the gallantry of the besieged, and mareschal Saxe had reason to tremble for his reputation ; when intelligence arrived that the preliminaries of peace were signed ; and the French were permitted to take possession of Maestricht, on condition that they restored it, with all its magazines and artillery, on the conclusion of the treaty.

By the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, a mutual restitution was stipulated of all conquests made during the course of the war, with a release of prisoners without ransom. Parina, Placentia, and Guastalla were ceded as a sovereignty to Don Philip ; but it was provided, in case he or his descendants should succeed to the crown of Spain, or that of the two Sicilies, that those territories should return to the present possessors, the empress queen of Hungary, and the king of Sardinia.

nia. The English acquired the privilege of sending an annual ship to the Spanish settlements in America; and the contracting powers guaranteed to his Prussian majesty the duchy of Sillesia and the county of Glatz, as he then possessed them.

Chapter the Thirty-Eighth.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CLERGY AND THE PARLIAMENT—BULL *UNIGENITUS*—THE PARLIAMENT BANISHED—RECALLED, AND RECEIVED WITH THE ACCLAMATIONS OF THE PARISIANS—WAR IN THE EAST INDIES—IN AMERICA—WAR WITH ENGLAND—BETWEEN PRUSSIA AND THE EMPIRE—MINORCA TAKEN—PARLIAMENT SUSPENDED—LIFE OF THE KING ATTEMPTED—PARLIAMENT RESTORED—SUCCESS OF THE FRENCH IN HANOVER—FRANCE DEFEATED IN EUROPE—IN THE EAST INDIES—IN AMERICA—IN AFRICA—LOSSES AT SEA—NEGOCIATIONS FOR PEACE—PEACE CONCLUDED.

THE war which had so long afflicted A. D. 1748. Europe, was succeeded by seven years 1749. peace; and that short interval may be considered as the most prosperous and happy period that Europe had ever known; arts and letters were successfully cultivated; manufactures and commerce flourished; and the manners of society assumed each day a higher polish. But monarchs, while they aspire to the fame of conquerors, seldom conde-

condescend to regard the felicity of their subjects; and Lewis, who had only consented to the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle to restore his navy, in the arms of the marchioness of Pompadour meditated new wars; and prepared to dispossess the English of their principal settlements both in America and the East Indies.

From these visionary hopes the attention of the king was recalled by violent disputes between the clergy and parliaments of France, which partially interrupted the tranquillity of that kingdom. The famous controversy between the Jansenists and Jesuits, concerning grace, free-will, and other abstract points of theology, had originated in the preceding reign: the opinions of the former had been declared heretical by the court of Rome, in the celebrated bull commonly known by the name of *UNIGENITUS*. The reception of it was enforced by Lewis the Fourteenth, in opposition to the body of the people, the parliaments, the archbishop of Paris, and fifteen other prelates; who protested against it as an infringement of the rights of the Gallican church, and of the laws of the realm, as well as an insult on their private opinions. The duke of Orleans, while regent, extinguished a persecution which had been raised against those who had rejected the bull; but at the same time prevailed on the bishops, who had hitherto opposed, to submit to it.

Though

Though the bull *Unigenitus* was A. D. 1750. held in execration by the people, it had ^{1751.} hitherto occasioned no public disturbance; but on the conclusion of the peace, an attempt made by a minister of the finances to enquire into the wealth of the clergy, raised the jealousy of that order, and they determined to divert the attention of the court by reviving the former opposition to the bull *Unigenitus*. It was resolved by the clergy to demand confessional notes of dying persons; that those notes should be signed by priests adhering to the bull, without which no viaticum, or extreme unction, could be obtained. The new archbishop of Paris engaged warmly in this scheme, and he was opposed with equal vigour by the parliament, who imprisoned such of the clergy as refused to administer the sacraments to persons in their last moments. Other parliaments followed the example of that of Paris; and a war was immediately kindled between the secular jurisdiction, and ecclesiastical discipline.

The king, by an act of his absolute A. D. 1752. authority, forbade the parliaments to ^{1753.} take cognizance of ecclesiastical proceedings, and to suspend all prosecutions relative to the refusal of the sacraments. Instead of acquiescing, the parliament presented new remonstrances, refused to attend to any other business, and came to a resolution

solution that they could not obey this injunction without violating their duty and their oath. They cited the bishop of Orleans before their tribunal, and ordered all writings, in which its jurisdiction was contested, to be burnt by the executioner: By military aid, they enforced the administration of the sacraments to the sick; and engrossed by these religious differences, they entirely ceased, as supreme courts, to distribute that justice to the subject for which they had been erected.

A. D. 1753. Their obstinacy excited the indignation of their sovereign; four of the members, who had delivered themselves with the greatest freedom, were arrested and imprisoned; and the remainder were banished to Bourges, to Poitiers, and Auvergne; and Lewis, to prevent their absence from impeding the administration of justice, established by his letters patent a *Royal Chamber*, for the prosecution of suits civil and criminal. But the counsellors, animated by the same zeal as the parliament, refused to plead before these new judges: and the people, left to themselves, threatened to fall every day into anarchy and confusion. The intrigues of the court had already excited hostilities in America and the East-Indies; and Lewis, intent on war with England, determined to conciliate the affections of his people by recalling the parliament. The members re-
entered

entered Paris amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants; and the archbishop, who continued to encourage the priests in refusing the sacraments, was banished to his seat at Conflans; a similar exile was prescribed to the bishops of Orleans and Troyes; and a transient calm was restored to the kingdom.

For the source of this unexpected re- A. D. 1748.
 volution we must turn our eyes to the 1753.
 distant continents of Asia and America. From the moment that the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded, Dupleix, governor of Pondicherry, on the coast of Coromandel, a man active, intelligent, and enterprising, conceived the design of advancing the interest of the French East-India Company, by acquiring for France large territorial possessions in the south of Asia. The feeble successors of Aurengzebe, who had suffered the native governors of the different provinces to assume the authority of independent princes, encouraged by their weakness the daring project of this aspiring adventurer: The French troops which had been assembled during the late war to protect Pondicherry from the English, were now engaged in the various services of the different viceroys of India; their superior arms and discipline triumphed over a tumultuous multitude, always without skill, and frequently without courage; whatever
 side

side they inclined to, victory was sure to follow ; and the SUBAH, or viceroy of the Decan, whose authority they had established over the immense tract of country that stretches from Cape Comorin to the Ganges, rewarded the intrepidity of his protectors by the most liberal concessions.

The progress of the French had awakened the jealousy of the servants of the English East-India company. The attempt of M. Dupleix to impose a NABOB or governor on Arcot, a province in which Pondicherry is situated, excited the English to arms. As the allies of the princes of India, the rival nations opposed each other with equal courage and skill, and several battles were fought with various success ; at length the tide of war was turned by the appearance of a great and distinguished military character. Mr. Clive had gone out in the service of the English East-India Company as a writer : His aspiring mind was but ill calculated for this calm and peaceable station ; he exchanged the pen for the sword, and immortalised his name by a series of rapid and successive victories. With a small band he occupied Arcot, the capital of the disputed province ; repelled a numerous army of the French and Indians, who threatened to overwhelm him ; and triumphed, in a decisive battle, over the host that had lately besieged him. In the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly

poli the French and their allies were finally defeated; the pretensions of Chunda-saib, whose cause they had espoused, were extinguished in his blood; and his rival, Mohammed Ali, was established by the English on the throne of Arcot.

M. Dupleix was soon after recalled, A. D. 1750. and a cessation of arms was agreed upon ¹⁷⁵⁴ by the hostile powers; but while Lewis revolved the means of restoring in India the ascendancy of his subjects, his ambitious hopes were flattered by the insidious and hostile enterprises of his governors in North-America. Their plan was to unite, by a chain of forts, their two extensive colonies of Canada and Louisiana; and to confine the English to that tract of country that lies between the sea and the Apalachian mountains, which run from one end of North-America to another. In consequence of this, France would have enjoyed in time of peace the whole Indian trade; and the British settlers, continually exposed to the incursions of the faithless and ferocious savages, must have soon been finally extinguished. This project was pursued with ardour and judgment; forts were erected along the great lakes, which communicate with the river St. Laurencè, and also on the Ohio, and the Mississippi; and the chain was almost completed, when England, alarmed at these rapid encroachments, after re-

peated and ineffectual expostulations, determined to unsheath the sword.

A. D. 1755. This measure was no sooner resolved on, than it was executed with equal vigour and promptitude; a formidable squadron was detached to the banks of Newfoundland, to attack the fleet of France; and though a friendly fog enabled the greatest part to escape the superior force of England, yet two ships of the line were taken; the British cruizers swept the seas with such success, that above three hundred trading vessels belonging to France were carried into the ports of Great-Britain; and above eight thousand seamen became prisoners to that crown.

Lewis, astonished and stunned by this unexpected stroke, filled every court in Europe with complaints and negotiations. His naval strength was already fatally impaired; but from the infinite superiority of his land forces, he still flattered himself with the hopes of the most decided advantages. General Braddock, who had been entrusted by the English with the chief command in America, had been allured by the French and Indians into an ambuscade; and scorning to survive a defeat, the effect of his own imprudence, had in the grave found shelter from the reproaches of his country. On the banks of Lake George, Dieskau, who commanded the French forces in America, with
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a detachment of two thousand men, was exposed to a similar fate. Yet France still maintained on that continent her ascendancy, and England was reduced to wage a feeble and defensive war.

Though George the Second, as king of Great-Britain, while he retained the sovereignty of the seas, might despise the menaces of France, yet as elector of Hanover he was still vulnerable in his German dominions; and Lewis, to avail himself of this advantage, entered into close and secret connections with the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Dresden. The former still harboured a lively resentment of the cession of Silesia; and the division of the dominions of the house of Brandenburg, and the invasion of Hanover, were the objects of this formidable confederacy.

But the designs of the Confederates could not elude the vigilance and penetration of Frederic; conscious of his danger, he formed an alliance with the king of England, whose interests and apprehensions were similar to his own. Before the designs of his enemies were ripe for execution, the Prussian monarch anticipated their hostile efforts, burst into Saxony, defeated the Austrians at Lowositz, compelled Augustus with his whole army to surrender, occupied Dresden, and possessed himself of the state papers relative to foreign transactions,

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which

which displayed to the world the conspiracy that had been formed against him.

While the king of Prussia drained the prostrate territories of Saxony, and Great-Britain, governed by ministers whom she hated and despised, indulged her dishonourable fears, and called to her defence large bands of subsidiary Germans, Lewis assumed new vigour, and prepared to improve the favourable moments of enterprise. Numerous bodies of troops drawn towards the sea-coasts, continually alarmed the opposite shores of England; their hostile appearance served to cover the secret intentions of the French, who aspired to the conquest of Minorca, an island in the Mediterranean, which the English had formerly wrested from Spain.

The armament for that purpose consisted of fifteen thousand land forces, commanded by the marshal duke of Richlieu; and twelve ships of the line, with five frigates, under the marquis Galissoniere. They reached Minorca with a prosperous wind; the troops were disembarked, and immediately invested the castle of St. Philip's, which commands the town and harbour of Mahon. The English had detached Byng to the relief of the island, with a squadron equal to that of France; Galissoniere soon after engaged the British admiral in an indecisive action. The former returned to
block

block up the port of Mahon; the latter withdrew to Gibraltar; and on his recal to England, expiated with his life the stain which his pusillanimity had fixed on the naval glory of his country: While the garrison of Fort St. Philip, destitute of hope, surrendered, after a siege of nine weeks; and the island of Minorca submitted to the dominion of France.

The satisfaction which Lewis reaped A. D. 1756.
from this acquisition was alloyed by 1757.
domestic dissensions. The parliament, by their imprudent persecution of the partizans of the bull Unigenitus, awakened again the indignation of their sovereign: With an honourable, though perhaps injudicious zeal, they had also, in the midst of a bloody war, refused to register certain taxes, which they considered as oppressive to the people. Lewis, attended by his guards, appeared in the assembly; he suppressed the fourth and fifth Chambers of Inquests, the members of which had distinguished themselves by their firm and animated opposition; he commanded the bull Unigenitus to be respected; and prohibited the secular judges from ordering the administration of the sacraments. Fifteen counsellors of the Great Chamber lodged their resignation at the office next day; one hundred and twenty-four members of the different courts of parliament followed their
E 3 example;

example; and the people, who participated in the sufferings of the champions of their religious freedom, displayed their discontent in loud and impatient murmurs.

A. D. 1757. Their clamours, most probably, would have been little respected by a monarch, who early nursed in despotism, considered the will of the sovereign as the sole rule for the actions of his subjects. But Lewis was soon taught that the affections of his people were the best guards to his throne; and that in the plenitude of his power, he still was exposed to the rage of gloomy fanaticism. Francis Damien, an unhappy wretch, whose sullen mind, naturally unsettled, was inflamed by the disputes between the king and his parliament relative to religion, embraced the desperate resolution of attempting the life of his sovereign. In the dusk of the evening, as the king prepared to enter his coach, he was suddenly wounded, though slightly, between the ribs, in the presence of his son, and in the midst of his guards. The daring assassin had mingled with the crowd of courtiers, and was instantly betrayed by his distracted countenance. He declared it never was his intention to kill the king; but that he only meant to wound him, that God might touch his heart, and incline him to restore the tranquillity of his dominions, by re-establishing the parliament,

ment, and banishing the archbishop of Paris, whom he regarded as the source of the present commotions. In these frantic and incoherent declarations he persisted amidst the most exquisite tortures; and after human ingenuity had been exhausted in devising new modes of torment, his judges, tired out with his obstinacy, consigned him to a death, the inhumanity of which is increased by the evident madness that stimulated him to the fatal attempt.

But whether the mind of Lewis was deeply impressed by his late danger, or that he dreaded in the midst of a bloody and extensive war to alienate the hearts of his people, it is certain that he a second time banished the archbishop of Paris, who had been recalled; and found it expedient to accommodate matters with the parliament, which again proceeded to business.

In respect to foreign engagements, the councils of France were not influenced by the late attempt on the life of the king; and Lewis still persevered in his resolution of attacking the electoral dominions of the king of England. Mareschal Saxe, the source of so many victories to France, was now no more; and mareschal d'Etrees was appointed to the command of an army which consisted of eighty thousand men. He passed the Rhine, compelled the duke of Cumberland (who

at the head of about forty thousand Hessians, Hanoverians, and Prussians, watched his motions, and in feeble skirmishes endeavoured to retard his progress) to retire behind the Weser; he effected the passage of that river, drove the duke from an advantageous post in the village of Hastenbach, and amidst his triumphant career was recalled by the imprudent partiality of his sovereign.

The marshal duke of Richelieu, adorned with the laurels of Minorca, aspired to unite with the character of an accomplished courtier the reputation of a consummate general. Lewis could not long resist the solicitations of his favourite, and Richelieu was appointed to the chief command in Germany. The duke of Cumberland, pushed from post to post, at length took refuge under the cannon of Stade. Surrounded on every side, he was there reduced to the necessity of signing the singular convention of Closter-seven, by which an army of thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians, Hessians, and other troops in the pay of his Britannic majesty, was dissolved, and distributed into different quarters of cantonment, without being disarmed, or considered as prisoners of war. The French were left, till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns, in full possession of the countries they had conquered; though under the express condition

tion of abstaining from future violences, hostilities being immediately to cease on both sides.

With the capitulation of Closter-seven the fortune of France expired; and an event which promised the most brilliant advantages, was succeeded by five years of continual defeat and incessant calamity. To describe the different actions of a war, wide, bloody, and recent, would exceed the limits prescribed to the work before us; and the reader perhaps will not be displeased, if, abandoning the order we have hitherto pursued, we place before him a slight sketch of the principal occurrences during that period in the different quarters of the world.

In EUROPE, the king of Prussia, driven out of Bohemia, and menaced by the hostile armies of Sweden, Russia, and Austria, was now deserted by the only ally on whom he could place any dependance; and beheld the forces of France ready to penetrate into Saxony. Prince Soubise with twenty thousand French had joined the imperial standard; and Frederic saw the necessity of giving battle to the combined army, consisting of fifty thousand French and Imperialists, with less than half its number. But the presumption of prince Soubise decided the fate of the day; he advanced without caution or order, as to a certain victory; his temerity was chastised by a

bloody defeat; and Frederic from the triumphant field of Rosbach directing his march towards Silesia, arrived in time to join the prince of Bevern, and to renew his laurels by a second victory over the Austrians at Lissa.

In Hanover, the rapacity of the duke of Richelieu exhausted the subjected country. A demand from the court of France of the arms of those troops who had capitulated at Closter-seven, aroused their indignation: they considered this as the last disgrace of soldiers; and secretly resolving to relieve their country from oppression, they assembled from their different cantonments under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom his Britannic majesty had invested with the chief command of his electoral forces. The French, dispersed and unprepared, were successively expelled from Otterberg, Bremen, and Verden; four thousand were taken prisoners in the city of Minden; and the duke of Richelieu, better calculated to shine in courts than camps, with the wretched remnant of his once victorious army, repassed with difficulty the Rhine, before a body of men whom he had so lately vanquished and trampled upon.

A. D. 1758. While the gallant Frederic maintained the war with various success,
 1762. and alternately afflicted the dominions of his adversaries,

versaries, or beheld his own capital insulted by their presence, the French were doomed to number their campaigns by successive defeats. At Crevelt, count Clermont, at the head of fifty thousand men, was attacked and broken by prince Ferdinand, and compelled with considerable loss to retire under the cannon of Cologne. Marechal de Contades, who succeeded him, suffered in the ensuing campaign a more decisive defeat at Minden; and marechal Broglio, who superseded Contades, was equally unfortunate, and on the heights of Warbourg sunk beneath the superior genius of prince Ferdinand. The death of George the Second, and the accession of his grandson George the Third to the throne of England, changed not, at first, the councils of the English, or the fortune of the French; and the court of Versailles, pressed on every side, implored the support of the kindred crown of Spain. That kingdom was ruled by Charles the Third, late king of Naples and Sicily, and the son of Philip the Fifth. His elder brother, Ferdinand the Sixth, had invariably distinguished himself by his pacific disposition, and resisted the intrigues of France: but the present monarch, more ambitious, or more attached to the house of Bourbon, signed the celebrated FAMILY COMPACT; an alliance which, with the single exception of the American

American trade, naturalizes, in the dominions of the house of Bourbon, the subjects of each crown; and stipulates that the kings of France and Spain shall look upon every power as the enemy of both, which becomes the enemy of either.

Yet the assistance of Spain was feeble and inadequate; her attempt to wound Great Britain through her ally, and to invade the neutral kingdom of Portugal, was ill concerted and worse executed, and the Spaniards were compelled to abandon their hasty conquests with disgrace. Lewis was still doomed to regret the unavailing slaughter of his subjects; and marechal Broglio, near the village of Kirch Denkern, was repulsed by prince Ferdinand, with the loss of five thousand men. France had indeed hitherto repelled the desultory descents of the English on her coasts; but her pride was deeply wounded by a loss, less important in its real value than humiliating in the eyes of Europe. Belleisle, an island of about twelve leagues in circumference, and situated between Port Lewis and the mouth of the Loire, was reduced by an armament from England; and the British banners displayed from Palais, insulted and alarmed the inhabitants of the adjacent coasts. The recal of Broglio from the German army, with the joint appointment of the Prince of Soubise and Marshal d'Etrees, inter-
reputed

rupted not the rapid and triumphant career of prince Ferdinand. The French were compelled entirely to evacuate the electorate of Hanover; and in the landgraviate of Hesse they now occupied Ziegenhayen alone: while the king of Prussia, by the death of the empress of Russia, was delivered from his most formidable and implacable enemy.

In ASIA, the war, which had been A. D. 1757.
scarce suspended by the peace of Aix-^{1762.}
la-Chapelle, was revived with increase of fury, and with the most disastrous consequences to France; her settlement of Chandernagore, on the banks of the Ganges, was taken by admiral Watson and colonel Clive; general Lally was compelled to retire from a fruitless attempt against the walls of Madras; he was afterwards defeated in successive engagements, and reduced to seek shelter within the fortifications of Pondicherry: that settlement, the last that remained of any consequence to the French on the coast of Coromandel, was invested by the English. After a gallant defence, Lally was obliged by famine to surrender: his obstinacy and violence rejected those terms of capitulation which he might have obtained; and the victors, informed soon after of the hostile confederacy of the house of Bourbon, turned their arms against the settle-
ments

ments of Spain, and possessed themselves of Manila, the capital of Luconia, one of the principal of the Philippine islands.

A. D. 1758. In AMERICA, Louisbourg, garri-
 1762. soned by near three thousand troops, under the command of the chevalier du Dru-court, was attacked by admiral Boscawen, and the generals Amherst and Wolfe: for six weeks the governor maintained a gallant defence; he was at length compelled to surrender prisoner with his whole garrison, and the island of Cape Breton shared the fate of the capital. The conqueror next directed his attention to the continent, and swept away in his progress the forts of Ticonderoga, Crown-Point, and Niagara. But in Canada the force of the French was still entire; and the marquis of Montcalm, a brave and enterprising general, advantageously posted, protected with a formidable army Quebec, the capital of that province. His superior force, and almost inaccessible situation, could not repress the adventurous spirit of the English; animated by the example of their general, Wolfe, they climbed the rugged ascent of the Heights of Abraham; and were formed in battle on the summit; before Montcalm, lulled into security by the temerity of the attempt, would give credit to the intelligence. Convinced that the report was too true, he now determined to decide the fate of Canada in a
 general

general engagement : but the adverse fortune of France prevailed. Montcalm, after displaying equal skill and courage, perished on the field, with above a thousand of his bravest soldiers. The English also purchased their victory at the expence of their general, whose early martial genius promised to rank him among the first commanders of any age or nation ; but their success in every other point was brilliant and unalloyed ; Quebec surrendered ; and a subsequent attempt of M. de Levi to recover that city, was, after an ineffectual victory, baffled by the persevering valour of the garrison. The remnant of the French forces, destitute of subsistence, mouldered away : the town of New Orleans, and a few plantations on the Mississippi, alone remained to France of all her settlements in North America ; while in the West Indies, the powerful armaments of the English wrested from her the important and fruitful islands of Guadaloupe and Martinico ; and soon after shook to the very basis the grandeur and prosperity of the house of Bourbon, by storming the Havannah, the principal sea-port in the island of Cuba, the key of the Gulph of Mexico, and the centre of the Spanish trade and navigation in the New World.

In AFRICA, France was driven from the forts and factories which she had

A. D. 1758.

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established on the river Senegal. Mons. St. Jean, the governor of Goree, an island which lies at the distance of thirty leagues on the same coast, attempted to defend it from an English armament, conducted by commodore Keppel and colonel Worge; but his ardour was ill seconded by his garrison, and he was reluctantly compelled to submit to the superior numbers of his enemies.

A. D. 1758. But it was on the sea, that element ever
 1759. fatal to the ambition of France, and the proud theatre of British triumph, that the house of Bourbon beheld its lofty hopes finally overwhelmed: that marine which the treasures and resources of Lewis had been devoted to create, was in a few years totally annihilated. The marquis du Quesne, with three ships of the line and a frigate, was intercepted between Cape de Gatt and Carthage, by a considerable English squadron, under admiral Osborne; the frigate escaped by the swiftness of her sailing, but two of the ships of the line were taken after an obstinate resistance, and the third was driven on shore on the Spanish coast. M. de la Clue, in attempting to pass the straits of Gibraltar with twelve ships of the line, was encountered by admiral Boscawen with fourteen; the French soon sought their safety in flight; de la Clue was wounded himself; two of his largest ships were taken, two more destroyed,
 and

and the remaining eight found shelter under the cannon of Cadiz. But the principal fleet of France, consisting of twenty-one sail of the line and four frigates, still remained at Brest, under the command of M. Conflans, and meditated a descent on the coast of Ireland. In the prosecution of this design, that admiral availed himself of a storm which had driven the British squadron into their own harbours; but he had scarce put to sea before his hopes were blasted by the appearance of admiral Hawke, with twenty-two ships of the line. Conflans, who dreaded the encounter, sought shelter among the shoals and rocks of a lee-shore. He was pursued by his daring antagonist; his own ship, the *Royal Sun*, was driven on shore, and burnt by the French themselves; the *Héro* shared the same fate, by the hands of the English; the *Formidable* struck her colours; and the *Thésée*, the *Superbe*, and the *Juste*, were buried in the ocean by the British cannon, or the fury of the waves; the rest sought refuge in the river *Vilaine*. The victors themselves did not entirely escape the rage of the tempest; two of their ships struck on a sand, and were totally lost; but to the French marine, the wound, during the course of the war, was incurable; and those ships which had escaped into the *Vilaine*, could never elude the vigilance of a British squadron constantly stationed to block up the mouth of that river.

A. D. 1762. Such repeated disasters humbled the pride of Lewis; his finances were exhausted; his commerce at a stand; his marine annihilated; in the four different quarters of the world his arms had proved unfortunate; and his alliance with Spain had only introduced that crown to a participation of his calamities. Happily for him, the English councils were equally disposed to peace. George the Third had dismissed from administration the man whose commanding genius had changed the fortune of his country, and raised the British empire to a glory that astonished the world. The new minister listened with readiness to the proposals of the court of Versailles: the great outlines of the treaty were soon adjusted, as both parties agreed to withdraw themselves totally from the German war, and to restore the places they had taken. France also ceded to Great Britain, Canada, and the greatest part of her settlements in America; but retained the right of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland, with the small islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon. She received back Martinico, Guadaloupe, Goree, and Belleisle, with the neutral island of St. Lucia; and her East-India Company were established in their former settlements: but in return she consented to destroy the harbour and demolish the fortifications of Dunkirk; restored Minorca; yielded Grenada and

and the Grenadines; and gave up all claim to the neutral islands of St. Vincent, Dominica, and Tobago. Her ally, Spain, obtained again the Havannah, and all that part of the island of Cuba which had been conquered by the English; but in return, Charles engaged to permit the English to cut logwood in the Bay of Honduras, to evacuate Portugal, and to cede Florida to Great Britain. The king of Prussia soon after concluded a treaty with the Empress-Queen, by which all conquests were mutually restored; and after a tedious and bloody war, the tranquillity of Europe was once more happily re-established.

Chapter the Thirty-Ninth.

ORIGIN OF THE FRENCH PARLIAMENTS—INTRODUCTION OF LAWYERS INTO THOSE COURTS—ERECT THEMSELVES INTO JUDGES DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES THE SIXTH—ARE CONFIRMED BY CHARLES THE SEVENTH—PARLIAMENT CLAIMS THE RIGHT OF REGISTERING AND REMONSTRATING—IS HUMBLED IN THE REIGN OF LEWIS THE THIRTEENTH—ACQUIRES NEW STRENGTH DURING THE MINORITY OF HIS SUCCESSOR—REDUCED AGAIN BY LEWIS THE FOURTEENTH—ON THE DEATH OF THAT MONARCH DECLARES THE DUKE OF ORLEANS, SOLE REGENT—IS BANISHED, AND RECALLED, BY LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH.

THE late treaty, which delivered Lewis from the storms of foreign war, promised a season of rest and tranquillity to his declining years; his lust of trans-atlantic dominion had exposed the vessel of the state to imminent danger; and at length escaped from the fury of the tempest, it might naturally have been expected that his caution and vigilance would have been exerted to steer

steer clear of the shoals of domestic contention. But his reign was destined to prove equally inimical to the happiness of his people, and to the despotic power of his successor; the political horizon began already to be darkened with those clouds which afterwards burst with accumulated violence on the head, and shook to the very foundation the throne, of his grandson.

The power of the first monarchs of France had been bounded by the national assemblies, to which was frequently applied the name of **PARLIAMENTS**: but when the feeble successors of Charlemagne suffered the reins to drop from their hands, the barons assumed those privileges which had been formerly annexed to the crown; and while they governed their own districts with independent sway, neglected the general concerns of the state, and unless urged by private advantage, seldom deigned to attend the public summons. The vigour of Philip, surnamed **AUGUSTUS**, restored the semblance of regal authority; while the justice and wisdom which his edicts displayed, allured the concurrence rather than commanded the obedience of his subjects. He united to the crown several of the most considerable provinces of France; he embellished the principal towns and cities of his dominions; and generally successful in war, he was respected and imitated in peace.

The integrity and piety of his son and successor, Lewis the Ninth, cast the same lustre on the crown as had adorned it during the prosperous reign of Philip. Though defeated and even made captive in his unfortunate expedition against the infidels, his justice and devout humility blended with that of king the holy appellation of saint; and his subjects were disposed to listen with reverence to a legislator, who, severe to himself, directed his sole views to the benefit of the state: his patience and vigilance were continually exercised in alleviating the distresses of his people, and restoring that order which had been subverted by the haughty and restless spirits of a martial age.

The encouragement which St. Lewis gave to the code of Justinian, and the body of institutions which in his reign were compiled from the Roman laws, established a grand revolution in the maxims of jurisprudence, and in the cognizance of civil causes. New courts were erected by his authority or example throughout the kingdom; the feudal judges who presided over them, brave and indolent, by genius and habit were but ill qualified patiently to investigate the theory of a complicated science, or to toil through volumes which daily increased upon their hands; the numerous charters of enfranchisement, which had
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been granted to different towns and villages, required a variety of stipulations and exceptions; and the opinions and judgments of canonists and clerks were incessantly demanded, either to frame new regulations, or to explain the old ones.

Hence this class of men, by degrees, entered into the functions of judicature, and became constituent members of those courts of justice which were summoned by the kings, either for the determination of general feudal questions, or of private claims of right; and which were convened at any time, or in any part of the kingdom, according to the royal pleasure. The secular peers and lords, whom they at first only assisted with their advice, soon yielded to their superiority in those tribunals; instead of the simplicity and conciseness which characterised the feudal forms of trial, and that martial appearance which can be compared only to the warlike splendour of a Polish diet, the judges, in peaceful dignity, devoted their attention to the nice discussion of law questions, and encouraged those subtleties which at once perplex and protract, and which throughout Europe so universally disgrace the modern courts of justice.

Yet those who had raised themselves to eminence by the knowledge of the law, were still confined to decisions which affected only the life

or property of the subject, and remained excluded from the discussion of matters of political importance. The national assemblies had sunk into disuse; the court of peers, which originally was composed of only six secular and six ecclesiastical peers, but which had insensibly admitted the most powerful barons and bishops, and the principal officers of the crown, were restrained to appeals which involved the interests of persons of the same rank, the privileges of the peerage, or the pretensions of the throne; and Philip the Fair, the grandson of St. Lewis, alarmed by the thunders of the Vatican, and desirous of finding some support in the concurrence of his people at large, convened an assembly of the three orders of his kingdom, the nobility, the clergy, and the commons; and for the first time introduced the latter into the grand council of the state.

The example of Philip was imitated by his successors; and these assemblies, which obtained indiscriminately the names of STATES-GENERAL, or PARLIAMENTS, were held as the necessities of the sovereign suggested till the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth. But the kings of France, ever jealous of their spirit, endeavoured to prevent them from assuming a determined form or regular establishment; the place of their meeting was frequently changed, and several provincial assemblies,

blies, to diminish the danger of their unanimity, were repeatedly held at the same time, and attended by commissioners from the crown. The later princes of the House of Valois even endeavoured to substitute in their place conventions of the notables, and other partial meetings of the nobles; and whenever distress impelled them, it was still with reluctance they had recourse to their last resource of the States-General or Parliaments.

But while the sovereigns of France were impressed with evident jealousy of these assemblies, they nourished with care that court of justice which was composed of the most eminent among the nobility, the clergy, and the professors of the law, and which, equally with the *national assembly* and the *states-general*, had acquired the denomination of *Parliament*. Philip the Fair fixed the permanent seat of it at Paris; and as one chamber was insufficient for the arrangement and dispatch of appeals, he formed another, which was called the Chamber of Inquests. These chambers were appointed to meet twice in the year at the terms of All Saints and Easter, when their sessions were continued for two months: but it is probable, that during the anarchy of the unfortunate reign of Charles the Sixth, the magistrates continued to sit without intermission; and the sessions
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of the parliament have ever since been only legally prorogued by their own consent, and the termination of public business.

From the moment that the parliament of Paris was established, the progress of it was rapid and interesting. The principal barons presided with their swords by their sides, as the supreme judges; but ignorant of the jurisprudence, their decisions were directed by the opinions of the most able lawyers, who, as counsellors, explained to them the edicts of the state and the customs of the kingdom. The nobles, during the calamities which afflicted the æra of Charles the Sixth, deserted their judicial station; and it was immediately occupied by the most able professors of the law. When Charles the Seventh recovered Paris from the arms of the English, it was his first care to re-establish the administration of justice; he composed the grand chamber of parliament of thirty counsellors, half laity and half ecclesiastics; the chamber of inquests he augmented to forty members; and confining his appointments to those only versed in the law, delivered his people from the capricious partiality of an ignorant nobility.

The necessity of providing some permanent repository for the royal edicts, induced the kings of France to enroll them in the journals of their courts

courts of parliament; and the members of those courts soon availed themselves of this custom, to dispute the legality of any regulation which had not been thus registered. But the right of remonstrating, which in modern times has been asserted with so much vigour, only feebly appeared in the reign of Lewis the Eleventh; and during the minority of his son, Charles the Eighth, when the duke of Orleans disputed the regency with the lady of Beaujeu, and endeavoured to allure the parliament of Paris to support his pretensions, in opposition to the determination of the States-General, the president of that court replied, "that
" it was the business of the parliament solely to
" administer justice to the people; and that war,
" the management of the revenue, and the go-
" vernment of the king, were not within their
" province:" and he strongly recommended to the duke, to restrain himself within the limits of his allegiance, and not to interrupt the tranquillity of the kingdom.

But this moderation was of short duration. As the influence of the States-General diminished, that of the parliament daily increased; the court of peers, resigning its separate claim of jurisdiction, was blended with it; and the kings of France, by holding their supreme beds of justice in this court, invested it with the supreme authority of the
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the state both in civil and criminal affairs. The encroachments of the see of Rome first engaged the attention of the parliament; and in the reign of Francis the First, some strong remonstrances were presented against the mismanagement of the finances, and the impious rapacity which had stripped St. Martin of the silver rails that had been bestowed on his shrine by Lewis the Eleventh.

In the transient and feeble reign of Francis the Second, when the progress of the reformed religion awakened the fears of the most zealous catholics, and afforded a pretence to the ambition of the house of Lorrain, the members of the parliament were summoned to deliver their opinions on religious toleration; and the lords of the council and the Guises mutually agreed to refer the decision of this important question to that court. After long and warm debates, the majority of the parliament, by an edict, established the authority of the Roman or apostolic church; they declared the administration of any other religious rites capital crimes, and the judgment of them was left to the provincial courts. Heretical opinions were consigned to the ecclesiastical tribunals; but the power of punishing the culprits remained with the secular magistrates, who were restricted from pronouncing a severer sentence than banishment.

When

When Charles the ninth, the brother and successor of Francis, on the fatal eve of St Bartholomew, involved the unsuspecting Hugonots in one promiscuous massacre, and stained the memory of his reign with indelible infamy, the court of parliament praised the prudence of the king, who declared in that court, that he had only anticipated the designs of Coligny and the protestants against his own person; yet the president, de Thou, could not forbear adding, "That if the conspiracy of Coligny was real, he ought to have been proceeded against legally."

In the subsequent reign of Henry the Third, when France was agitated by the ambition of the house of Lorraine, and the formidable confederacy of the League, the parliament maintained pure and unshaken their allegiance to their sovereign. On the assassination of the duke of Guise, the capital was subjected to the licentious caprice of the council of sixteen; and Harlai, the president of the parliament, with Messrs. de Thou and Potier, who had incurred the displeasure of the zealous leaguers, were by the triumphant faction committed to the Bastile. A more unfortunate fate awaited the president Brisson, who after the assassination of Henry the Third, had endeavoured to awake the loyalty of the Parisians towards Henry the Fourth, and was executed, with-

out the form of trial, by a sentence of the council of sixteen.

When that monarch recovered his capital, he restored the parliament to its dignity and freedom; and those edicts which had been extorted by the power of the league, against himself and his predecessor, were formally annulled. But when Henry himself, grateful for the former services of the protestants, whose religious tenets he had abjured, in the edict of Nantz, which was registered in parliament, granted to the reformed permission to assemble at what place and at what time they pleased, to admit foreigners into their synods, and at pleasure to quit the kingdom to join foreign synods, the parliament hesitated not to remonstrate against a concession so dangerous to the royal authority. The sovereign listened with pleasure to the language of loyalty; but the reformed were entitled to his confidence; he wished to extinguish the rancour between the protestants and catholics by a generous toleration; and he compelled the parliament reluctantly to register the edict.

On the death of Henry the Fourth, the parliament confirmed the title of his widow to the regency, during the minority of Lewis the Thirteenth. Even after that prince came of age to assume the reins of government, they vindicated
their

their authority against the duke d'Epernon, who had presumed to release by force a soldier from the prison of St. Germain. The king, partial to the duke, commanded the parliament to discontinue their proceedings; the parliament obeyed; but at the same time they determined to stop the administration of justice, till they had received satisfaction for this insult to their body; and though the king disapproved their resolution, the duke d'Epernon was at length compelled to a personal submission.

But when the commanding genius of Richelieu guided the counsels of his sovereign, the parliament were taught to respect the voice of a master: Their mediation in favour of the queen mother was severely reprov'd, and they were reduced, at Metz, to implore the pardon of insulted majesty. By acquiescing in the desires of the court in dissolving the marriage of the duke of Orleans, the brother of the king, with Margaret of Lorraine, they reconciled themselves to the haughty cardinal; yet unmindful of their late humiliation, they again exposed themselves to his resentment by resisting the establishment of the French Academy; and though their opposition was ineffectual, that minister ever after regarded them with jealousy and aversion.

The death of the cardinal was soon succeeded by that of Lewis the Thirteenth; and the minority

city of his son was entrusted to the care of the queen mother, Anne of Austria. That princess called to the supreme direction of affairs the cardinal Mazarin, and the nation submitted with reluctance to the authority of a foreigner and a priest. The parliament availed themselves of the general indignation to shake off the fetters which Richelieu had imposed, and to assume powers unknown before. Some vexatious edicts which they refused to register, was the signal of public revolt; the queen, to enforce obedience, arrested several of the counsellors; and the people espousing the cause of the parliament, whom they considered as their champions against an oppressive minister, tumultuously assembled in arms, and barricaded the streets. The court, alarmed at their hostile appearance, restored the members of the parliament to their freedom; and soon after abandoned a capital which it could no longer govern. For four successive years the parliament alternately opposed the authority of the regent, and launched its edicts against the princes of the blood. Amidst every species of anarchy and civil commotion, Lewis the Fourteenth attained the age fixed for his majority; he appeared in his parliament, boldly reprimanded their presumption, and banished those members whose activity had rendered them most conspicuous. The
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rest of the assembly submitted to the mandates of their sovereign; they cancelled the obnoxious edicts against Mazarin; they received that minister with every mark of regard and approbation; and during the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth the parliament of Paris was content to administer justice in obsequious silence.

Towards the close of the reign of that monarch, some feeble murmurs escaped them against the bull *UNIGENITUS*, which they considered as an infringement on the liberties of the Gallican church; but no sooner had Lewis expired, than the parliament embraced the opportunity of escaping from that subjection in which he had held them; and, contrary to the will of the deceased monarch, they vested the sole power of the regency in the hands of the duke of Orleans. Yet the freedom of their expostulations with that prince on the ruinous system of Law, determined him to dismiss them to Pontoise; and they were compelled to purchase their recall by the most degrading concessions. We have since beheld them, on the resumption of the bull *Unigenitus*, resisting Lewis the Fifteenth in the plenitude of his power; and though repeatedly banished, yet constantly recalled, and gathering from each fall, increase of vigour.

From the time of Philip the Fair the parlia-

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ment of Paris advanced rapidly, and continually gathered strength in its progress. In the different and most flourishing cities of France, other parliaments, on a similar principle, were gradually erected; but though we have traced the counsellors of law thus elevating themselves to the highest and noblest office of government, and dispensing justice in the supreme court of the kingdom, yet the notions of honour peculiar to the Gothic nations precluded them from being ennobled by their places: they were officially associated with peers, and had sat in judgment on princes of the blood; yet for several centuries they in vain struggled to obtain admission into the order of nobility; and it was not till the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, who had humbled their power, that their vanity was gratified by the indulgence of that monarch, whose edict first entitled them to the honours and privileges of the nobles.

Chapter the Fortieth.

EXPULSION OF THE JESUITS—REMONSTRANCES OF THE PARLIAMENT OF PARIS—OF ROUEN—DEATH OF THE DAUPHIN—REMONSTRANCES OF THE PARLIAMENT OF BRITTANY—LEWIS RECLAIMS FROM THE POPE THE TERRITORIES OF AVIGNON AND THE VENAISSIN—CONQUERS CORSICA—MARRIAGE OF THE DAUPHIN—PROSECUTION OF THE DUKE D'AIGUILLON—DIFFERENCE WITH THE PARLIAMENT REVIVED—THE MEMBERS BANISHED—NEW TRIBUNALS ESTABLISHED, AND NEW LAWS FRAMED—DIFFERENCE WITH THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD—GENERAL DISCONTENT OF THE PEOPLE—DEATH OF LEWIS THE FIFTEENTH.

WHILE Lewis sunk beneath the fortune and genius of his foreign enemies, the parliament of Paris were vigorously engaged in pursuing their triumph over their domestic foes. The arts and influence of the Jesuits had obtained and enforced the bull *Unigenitus*; and their victory had been considered as a dangerous wound to the dignity of the parliament. But that order, that had obtruded

itself into the cabinets of the most powerful potentates of Europe, that had attained almost an independent sovereignty in America, now tottered on the brink of destruction. A conspiracy which they had framed and encouraged against the life of the king of Poland, excited the general detestation; and while they laboured under this odium, some fraudulent practices to which their avarice stimulated them in France, completed their disgrace, and exposed them to the severity of the civil law.

La Valette, chief of their missionaries at Martinico, had ever since the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle carried on, for the benefit of his society, an extensive and advantageous commerce: by his ingenious and bold speculations, he had augmented it to such a degree as to excite the jealousy of the merchants and inhabitants of the colony; he formed establishments in the neighbouring islands, and had factories at Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent; he drew bills of exchange upon Marseilles, Nantz, Lyons, Paris, Cadiz, Leghorn, and Amsterdam; and his ambition aspired to monopolize the trade of France in the West-Indies, when his projects were blasted by an event as calamitous as it was unexpected.

His vessels laden with riches went over the seas

feas in security, when the English commenced those hostilities fatal to so many speculators, and especially to the brothers Lionay and Gouffre, merchants at Marseilles, who, in expectation of two millions of merchandize, had accepted notes to the amount of a million and an half, drawn by the Jesuits. Stunned by this heavy blow, they in vain implored the support of the society of Jesus; that order, blind to its real interest, was either deaf to their intreaties, or too tardy in its assistance. Before their courier arrived, the house of the Lionays stopped payment, and throughout the principal commercial towns in France involved a multitude of unfortunate persons in their ruin.

Those who were interested as suf- A. D. 1761.
ferers in the failure of the Lionays, 1762.
sought for indemnification from the order of the Jesuits; they asserted that La Valette had acted, as a monk indeed necessarily must do, for the benefit of his society; and on the refusal of the order to make good the losses they had sustained in their connection with their agent, they carried their cause before the parliament of Paris.

That assembly eagerly seized the opportunity of humbling their domestic enemies. The Jesuits were every where cited before their tribunals, and ordered to do justice to their creditors. In vain

did they urge that commerce being forbidden to religious orders by the canons of the church, and by the laws, the engagements of La Valette were personal, and ought not to involve the ruin of a whole society. But the completion of their errors was the giving into the snares that had been prepared for them by their adversaries: these, in order to prove that the government of the Jesuits was despotic; that every thing was submitted to the power of the general; and that Father de la Valette neither was, nor could be, any thing else than the agent of the society, appealed to the constitutions of the order. The Jesuits imprudently accepted the challenge, and referred to the same authority to justify their assertion, that the society had no property, and that the funds belonged to the several houses or colleges.

The mysterious volume, which had been so carefully secluded from the light, was now produced in open court: it was found to contain an admirable, but alarming picture of the order; all the members of which being united by the conformity of their morals, and the resemblance of their doctrine and manners, submitted implicitly to their chief; and formed a distinct body in the state, subject to the sole controul of their general, who was absolute over their actions, their fortunes, and their lives.

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At the same time it was discovered, that from the period of their former expulsion they had again been admitted into the kingdom on certain conditions, which they had never fulfilled, and to which their general had obstinately refused to subscribe ; so that the contract between this religious order and the state had never been completed ; and their existence in France was the effect only of toleration, and not of adoption.

To these fatal discoveries were added the dispositions of the marchioness de Pompadour, and her favourite minister. The marshal Belleisle, who had entrusted the education of his only son to the Jesuits, died before the conclusion of the peace ; and to his influence succeeded the duke de Choiseul, a nobleman who disliked, and was honoured by the hatred of, the order. This minister, of an active and bold turn of mind, endeavoured to effect revolutions not only in states, but also in the opinions of the people ; strongly prepossessed in favour of modern philosophy, and an enemy to the power of religious communities, his sentiments gave weight to the proceedings of parliament : the writings of the Jesuits were pronounced to contain doctrines subversive of all civil government, and injurious to the security of the sacred persons of sovereigns : the attempt of Damien on the life of the king

was attributed to their suggestions, and every thing seemed to foretel their speedy dissolution.

Yet one feeble ray of hope broke in upon the gloom from the prospect of royal favour; and Lewis, who had beheld the late proceedings with indifference, was now allured by the solicitations of the friends to the society, faintly to interpose in their behalf. The royal mandate, for the space of a year, averted their impending destiny; and during that period, all decisions against the society were commanded to be suspended. A plan of accommodation was drawn up, and submitted to the pope and the general of the order; but the latter, at this critical moment, displayed an ill-timed haughtiness, and imprudent inflexibility; "*Let them exist as they were, or not exist at all,*" was his injudicious answer. The indifference of the king returned; the activity of the parliament was rekindled; and the decree of proscription immediately ensued.

The parliament declared the bulls, briefs, constitutions, and other regulations of the society called of Jesus, to be encroachments of authority, and abuses of government; they dissolved the society; forbade the members to wear the habit of the order; and interdicted them from the possession of any prebends, livings, or pulpits, or any other clerical or municipal offices. Their colleges

leges were seized; their effects confiscated; and the king joining in the general resentment, seconded the decree of the parliament, by an edict which utterly abolished the order of Jesuits throughout his dominions.

But the king of France, while he
 A. D. 1763.
 reposed in the arms of beauty, little thought that in joining to suppress a religious order, he had kindled a flame which might prove fatal to despotic government. The French parliament, elated by their victory over ecclesiastical tyranny, now attempted to set bounds to the absolute power of the crown, and seemed determined to confine it within the limits of law. An edict which Lewis issued for the continuance of some taxes which were to have ended with the war, was considered by the parliaments as an unwarrantable burthen; and a second edict, which enabled the crown to redeem its debts at an inadequate price, was represented as a violation of the public faith. The flame rapidly spread through the kingdom; the different parliaments strongly remonstrated against, and ultimately refused to register, the edicts; and those of Paris and Rouen distinguished themselves by their firm and animated language. "The subject," said the latter, "has a right to the easiest and least burthen some method of contributing to the wants
 " of

“ of the state. This right, which is founded in
 “ nature, belongs to every nation in the world,
 “ whatever may be its form of government ; it is
 “ principally the right of the FRANCES ; and in a
 “ more especial manner that of your province of
 “ Normandy. The Norman charter furnishes on
 “ this head the most respectable monuments of
 “ our national immunities, and of the JUSTICE of
 “ the kings, your august predecessors. We there
 “ find that no tax can be laid on your subjects of
 “ this province, unless it be agreed to in the as-
 “ sembly of *the people of the three estates*. This
 “ charter subsists in its full force ; it makes part of
 “ your people’s rights, which you swore to maintain
 “ before Him BY WHOM KINGS REIGN.”

From the south they echoed, without any dimi-
 nution, the voice of the northern parliaments ;
 and that of Bourdeaux hesitated not to declare,
 that it was their duty in registering an edict to
 bear witness to the people that the tax was just,
 and to the king, that his people are still able to
 furnish the supplies ; at Thoulouse, at Grenoble,
 and Besançon, they pursued the same measures,
 and held the same language.

A. D. 1763. The court, to combat this opposi-
¹⁷⁶⁴tion, sent down the different governors
 of the provinces, with orders in the king’s name
 to register the edicts by force, and to cause them

to

to be obeyed. The duke of Fitz-James accordingly repaired to Thoulouse, the duke of Harcourt to Rouen, and Monsieur Mesnil to Grenoble. The former in vain set guards upon the houses of the principal magistrates, and menaced the rest with the same restraint; the patriotic party was provoked rather than intimidated by this rigour: the neighbouring parliament of Provence espoused with ardour the cause of their brethren of Thoulouse; they declared, that by the outrage in the capital of Languedoc, the whole nation, and the throne itself, was wounded by tyrannical acts; the members of the parliament of Thoulouse, animated by the friendly assurances of Provence, as soon as they could assemble, came to more effectual resolutions, and determined to arrest their governor, though acting with the authority and under the immediate direction of the crown, and to proceed against him as a criminal.

The duke of Harcourt and Monsieur Mesnil, in Rouen and Grenoble, imitated the conduct of the duke of Fitz-James, and were encountered by a similar opposition; their respective parliaments commanded their bodies to be seized, and to be brought to the prisons of the court; and in case they could not be apprehended, their estates and effects were to be confiscated, or put under the administration of a legal commissary.

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A. D. 1765. The fatal influence of the marchioness of Pompadour had terminated with her life ; and amidst these convulsions, the dauphin of France, a prince of a pious and mild disposition, expired in the thirty-seventh year of his age. Maria Theresa, the infanta of Spain, whom he had first espoused, died in child-bed ; and the daughter of which she was delivered, survived her mother but a short time. His second marriage, in 1747, with Maria Josepha, of Saxony, proved more fruitful ; and he left behind him three sons, the duke of Berri, the count of Provence, and the count of Artois, with two daughters. The king immediately conferred the title of dauphin on the duke of Berri ; but with a proper attention to the memory of his deceased son, ordered that the dowager dauphiness should retain precedence of his royal highness.

A. D. 1766. But if the heart of Lewis was on this occasion sensible of paternal emotions, the cares of sovereignty allowed him not to indulge his sorrows in retirement. The voice of freedom had been heard through the different provinces of the kingdom ; the parliament of Brittany had refused to the crown a free gift of seven hundred thousand livres ; and they were singled out to experience the weight of the royal vengeance. The old parliament was dissolved ;
a new

a new commission of sixty members was appointed by the king in its room; and a severe prosecution was at the same time carried on against the degraded members: But in the instant that sentence was to have passed, Lewis prudently stopped the process, and endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his people, by publishing a general amnesty in their favour.

The clemency of the monarch was treated with disdain; the counsellors of the parliament of Brittany refused to resume their functions; and alledged, that as they had taken an oath to their parliament, they could not plead before the commission which the king had appointed in its room. Lewis, enraged at their opposition, ordered them to be included in the list of those who were to be drafted for the militia; such as the lot fell on were immediately obliged to join their respective battalions, and the rest were employed in forming the city-guard.

The parliament of Paris had not beheld with indifference the fate of their brethren in Brittany; they had applauded their conduct, and exhorted them to persevere in their opposition. But the freedom of their remonstrances soon drew upon them the royal censure; Lewis suddenly appeared

appeared in the capital, presented himself in the public court, and severely reprimanded the temerity of the members; he added, with the dignity of offended majesty, "I will not suffer an association to be formed in my kingdom, which might grow into a confederacy of resistance."

The deputies from the parliament of Rouen had pointedly reminded the sovereign of his coronation oath, and insinuated a compact between the king and the people. The answer of Lewis was conveyed in the strongest terms: "The oath that I have made, not to the nation, as you take upon you to say, but to God alone." This distinction proclaimed his determination to suffer no earthly opposition to his will; the parliaments were for a moment awed by the imperious voice of the monarch; and a transient and deceitful calm succeeded the hollow murmurs of discontent.

A. D. 1767. From curbing the free and daring
1768. spirits of his parliaments, Lewis directed his attention to the state of foreign powers. Poland was afflicted with all the calamities that attend religious rancour and civil commotion: The distance of that country precluded the interference of France; and her king, with superior policy, limited his views to Corsica, an island in the Mediterranean. Previous to
this

this enterprize, the patrimony of St Peter, defended alone by spiritual arms, was doomed to experience the more formidable weapons of the king of France. On the refusal of the pope to recal a brief which he had published against the duke of Parma, Lewis thought proper to reclaim the territories of Avignon and the Venaissin, as fiefs belonging to him; and the Roman pontiff, having no troops to oppose him, could only denounce against him the penalties incurred by those who seize on effects belonging to the church. But the thunders of the Vatican, once so terrible, were no longer regarded; and the marquis of Rochecouart, with the regiment of Dauphiné, expelled the feeble train of the pope; and received, in the name of the king, the homage and submission of the people.

But far different preparations were necessary to bend the hardy and stubborn natives of Corsica. These had resisted, with manly firmness, the oppressive councils of the Genoese, who claimed the sovereignty of the island by right of conquest. But Genoa, unable to support her pretensions, transferred them to France, on condition that Lewis should put her in full possession of the adjacent island of Capraia, which the Corsicans had lately invaded

A. D. 1768.

1769.

vaded

vaded and reduced. To execute his engagements, powerful armaments were fitted out by Lewis, at Antibes and Toulon; twenty battalions of French were landed in Corsica; and the natives, whose free suffrages had summoned Paoli, one of their principal chiefs, to the supreme government of the island, determined to defend their liberties to the utmost. A sharp and bloody war, such as suited the inferior numbers of the inhabitants and the nature of the country, was carried on in all the fastnesses and mountainous parts of the island. And it was not till after the French had fatally experienced, in two successive campaigns, the enthusiastic courage which animates the champions of Freedom, that they overwhelmed by their superior numbers this unfortunate people; nor had Lewis much reason to triumph in an acquisition, to attain which he had sacrificed several thousands of his bravest troops, and only extended his dominion over a rugged and unproductive island.

While France abroad was exhausting her treasures in a ruinous and unprofitable conflict, at home her merchants were exposed to every species of failure and distress. Her East-India Company, formerly so flourishing, became totally bankrupt; the most capital commercial houses were involved in the same calamity; and the despotic

desperate manœuvre of the minister, the duke of Choiseul, in reducing the interest of the public funds to one-half, and at the same time taking away the benefit of survivorship in the tontines, increased the general gloom, and struck at the root of all national faith and credit.

But though the arms of Lewis had extinguished the flame of freedom in Corsica, in France it was revived by the breath of the parliaments, and cherished with a fond regard that threatened the most important consequences. An edict issued by the king, which transferred some new and extraordinary powers to the grand council, was strenuously opposed by the parliament of Paris; sixty-four members of that assembly voted for utterly abolishing that council; and the question was only lost by a majority of two, though all the princes of the blood attended to support the court, and the duke of Choiseul endeavoured to overawe the independent spirit of the patriotic party by continuing in the assembly throughout the debate.

That minister, wearied with ineffectual struggles, now exerted his address to conciliate those whom he had in vain attempted to intimidate. Though the king had hitherto resisted the solicitations of his people to restore the parliament of Brittany, he now aspired to popularity by doing

of his accord, that which he had been vainly importuned to grant; and the duke de Duras was sent into that province, to re-establish the parliament, and to recall the members from exile.

A. D. 1770. But a concession, which a short time since would have been ascribed to the benignity of the monarch, was now attributed to the fears of the court; and the parliament had scarce assembled before they convinced their countrymen, that oppression had confirmed and not extinguished their zeal for the public welfare. The province of Brittany had long groaned beneath the iron rule of the duke d'Aiguillon, and for four years he had persecuted with unremitting vengeance M. de Chalotais, the attorney-general to the Parliament. That unfortunate gentleman, whose genius, learning, and integrity merited a better fate, had opposed with the indignation of a virtuous magistrate, the oppressive measures of the duke; and a malevolent rage of the haughty governor, seconded by the influence of the countess du Barri, the new and favourite mistress of the king, whose confidence he had acquired, drove the unhappy object of his enmity into exile; pursued him from dungeon to dungeon; and at length, by the subornation of false witnesses and the profligacy of dependant judges, procured against him a sentence which involved his life; and which his persecutor

persecutor hastened privately to carry into execution.

But the parliament of Brittany had received intelligence of the dark designs of their governor; the humanity of the duke of Choiseul was interested by their representations; and an order in favour of M. de Chalotais arrived time enough to stop the hand of the executioner, which was already armed against his life. The rescue of that gentleman laid open a scene of the blackest iniquity; and the parliament of Brittany, possessed of new proofs, commenced a process against the duke d'Aiguillon, whose trial was conducted in the presence of the king, the princes of the blood, the peers, and the parliament of Paris. Before these judges the written proceedings carried on against M. de Chalotais were produced, and disclosed such a complicated system of guilt and cruelty, as exceeded whatever could have been surmised.

It was amidst these domestic disquietudes that the dauphin received the hand of Maria Antonietta, sister to the emperor of Germany. But even these nuptials, that promised to cement the alliance of France with the house of Austria, were attended with events the most inauspicious: The crowd that hastened to be spectators of the fireworks, tumultuously pressed upon each other;

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those

those who were foremost were borne down by the weight of increasing numbers behind, and it is supposed several hundreds perished in the fatal confusion; yet even this loss, severe as it was, could not divert the public attention from the prosecution of the duke d'Aiguillon.

But at the moment that the nation awaited the decision of this important cause, Lewis thought proper, by a violent exertion of power, to put a total stop to the whole course of justice, and to all further enquiries into the conduct of the duke. At the same time, conscious of their sentiments, he forbade the princes of the blood from attending the parliament. A procedure so inconsistent with the rights of the peerage, was openly reprobated by the prince of Conti; and the partiality which the king evidently displayed towards the duke d'Aiguillon, could not repress the determined resolution of the parliaments against him. That of Paris prohibited him from exercising the functions of his peerage, till his character was cleared by an open trial; and though the king annulled their arret by his absolute authority, they maintained their resolution with incredible firmness, and their remonstrances were seconded by the representations of the princes and peers; who complained that their honour

honour was sacrificed, and the rights of the peerage annihilated.

The other parliaments were not behind in vigour or resolution to that of Paris; but the general detestation that pursued the duke d'Aiguillon, seemed only to increase the attachment of his royal master; and Lewis, after having severely reprimanded the parliament of Paris for their temerity, ordered two of their members to be arrested, and sent to the castle of Vincennes; yet the rest, instead of being intimidated by this severity, still displayed an astonishing magnanimity, and persevered in repeated deputations and remonstrances.

At length the king arrived suddenly at Paris, and having surrounded with his guards the parliament, entered the assembly, reproached the members in the severest terms, dismissed the two chambers of Inquests and Requests, and ordered all proceedings against the duke d'Aiguillon to be erased from their registers. The parliament, however, still continued to assemble, and observed that the late acts of arbitrary power, both against the letter and spirit of the constitution, left no room to doubt that a premeditated design was harboured to change the form of government; and that though they should for a while postpone their deliberations, they proclaimed their resolu-

tion still to persevere in carrying truth to the foot of the throne.

Measures equally violent were adopted against the provincial parliaments. That of Brittany was surprised by the intrusion of a major general, who produced lettres de cachet for the first president, solicitor general, and register, and compelled them by an armed force to erase from their registers the arrests obnoxious to the court. The members, however, assembled soon after, and issued a strong protest against this act of power, which they pronounced in the highest degree to be arbitrary and illegal.

At Metz, marshal d'Armentieres entered the parliament house at the head of eight companies of grenadiers, tore to pieces several of the arrests, and banished the most distinguished members; Besançon was insulted by a similar instance of military violence; yet Rouen still persevered in its deputation, and its complaints were echoed by the chamber of aids at Paris; who after in vain seeking access to the throne, to the amazement and confusion of the court, printed its remonstrance.

The discontent of the populace, who looked up with admiration to the patriotism and heroic firmness of the parliaments, was increased by a dearth which prevailed this year throughout the kingdom.

kingdom. A scanty supply was procured by opening the ports, and permitting foreigners as well as natives to import or export corn at will, without any retrospect to the price for which it might have been sold during the continuance in the ports: but though this regulation might alleviate the public misery, yet so fatal were the ravages of famine, that in Limosin and Marche only, four thousand persons are supposed to have perished.

The monarch, immersed in sensuality, heard with indifference the cries of his people; but he listened with more respect to the solicitations of his mistress, the countess du Barri. The hatred of that lady to the duke de Choiseul was constant and undisguised; and her royal lover, amidst the blandishments of amorous intercourse, was incessantly urged to dismiss the obnoxious minister. But whatever promises were drawn from the easy king in the hours of dalliance, were repeatedly revoked on reflection; and it is probable that the duke of Choiseul might still have retained his post, had not the imprudence of his sister, and his own enterprising genius, precipitated his downfall.

The pride of the duchess de Grammont was severely mortified by the ascendancy of the countess du Barri; though neither young nor handsome, she had aspired to the royal bed, and hoped to

confirm, by her influence as mistress to the king, the power to which her brother had attained as minister. This prospect was blasted by the fond attachment of Lewis to his new favourite; and the duchess, instead of remaining at Versailles, and endeavouring secretly to undermine her enemies, gave open vent to her indignation; she inflamed the parliaments of the different provincial towns; and in a progress through France; assured them, that in their remonstrances to the crown, they would be supported by the duke of Choiseul.

But the impetuosity of that minister plunged him into a more fatal error. The court of Spain had already formed designs against Port Egmont, a settlement on one of the Malouine Islands, and possessed by the English. The duke of Choiseul, who had with impatience submitted to the triumphs of that people, assured the cabinet of Madrid that Lewis would firmly maintain the union of the house of Bourbon, and the engagements that he had contracted by the Family Compact. The intrigues of the duke could not long be kept secret from the king; he heard with astonishment the presumption of that statesman, who had hazarded an answer of such importance without the concurrence of the crown; he trembled at the thoughts of war, and at duties which must obtrude

trude upon hours which he had devoted to pleasure; he was still embarrassed by the remonstrances of his parliaments; and he determined to get rid of a minister whom he suspected of too much complacency towards those assemblies. The count de St. Florentin, lately created duke de la Vrillière, was appointed to carry him the fatal *lettre de cachet*, which was couched in the following terms: “the dissatisfaction I experience in your services, obliges me to banish you to Chanteloup, where you will repair in twenty-four hours. I would have sent you much further, if it had not been for the particular esteem I have for the dukes de Choiseul, in whose welfare I am much interested. Be careful that your conduct does not force me to take some other step; and I pray God to keep you in his holy protection.”

The duke of Choiseul found some compensation for the loss of royal favour in the approbation of the public; and he retired with the acclamations of the people at large. But his retreat secured not the submission of the parliaments of France; and those assemblies, though deprived of the support that they had looked up to, still maintained a conduct equally firm and honourable. The members long withstood the royal edict, by which they were to acknowledge

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knowledge themselves obliged in future to register all the edicts of the king, even against their own remonstrances. The presence of the monarch at length compelled them to enter on their journals the fatal edict ; but in their next assembly the parliament of Paris complained of it as an act of force, and appointed a deputation to the king to entreat him to withdraw it. Their language on this occasion was bold, firm, and animated :
“ Your edict, Sire, is destructive of all law ;
“ your parliament is charged to maintain the
“ law ; and the law perishing, they should perish
“ with it : these are, Sire, the last words of your
“ parliament.”

Lewis, enraged at their perseverance, now yielded to the most violent councils, and prepared to support his authority by the most decisive measures : the members, in the dead of night, were waked in their beds by parties of the guards, who presented to each of them a *lettre de cachet*, which enjoined them to declare whether they would resume the administration of justice, which they had abandoned, or persist in their refusal. Though in the moment of confusion a few were surprised into acquiescence, yet these soon retracted ; they were commanded to attend at court, to receive their dismissal ; and maintaining, even in the presence of the sovereign, the same decent but inflexible

flexible firmness, the whole body of the parliament was banished from the capital.

The chief author of a conduct so daring and odious, was the chancellor de Maupeou; a man who had ascended to power by the practice of every species of fraud and deceit, and who shared with the duke d'Aiguillon the public hatred. At his suggestion a temporary tribunal was erected, at which the lawyers of the crown were compelled to assist; but this phantom of a parliament, and the hopes of the people that the old one would be restored, were soon extinguished. The king, at the last bed of justice that he held, issued three edicts; the first for the dissolution of the present parliament; the second for the suppression of the Court of Aids; and the third for the transformation of the Grand Council into a new parliament. The king closed the assembly with these decisive words: "You have just heard my intentions; it is my will that they should be executed. I command you to begin your functions next Monday; my chancellor will go to instal you. I forbid all deliberations contrary to my will, and all representations in favour of the ancient parliament; for I will *never* change." Soon after the king declared that the jurisdiction of the new parliament, which reached from Lyons to Arras, was too extensive; he now divided it into six different

ferent parts; each court was to have a similar jurisdiction, and to be held at Arras, Lyons, Clermont, Blois, Poitiers, and Paris; a new code of laws, which had been framed by the chancellor, was also presented and approved; and measures accordingly taken for carrying them into execution.

The parliament of Rouen had not beheld in silence the fate of their brethren at Paris; they declared the new parliament usurpers, and enemies of the state, and strictly forbade the acknowledgment or execution of any of their arrests. The court was awed by the danger of a contest with the powerful and high-spirited duchy of Normandy; and it is surmised that the generous refusal of the duke of Harcourt to command the troops intended to crush that province, induced Lewis to relinquish the violent measures that he meditated. But the same respect was not paid to the parliaments of Besançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Thoulouse, and Brittany; these were totally suppressed, the members driven into exile, and new parliaments erected in the room of the old.

The public discontent at the suppression of their ancient parliaments was not lessened by the appointment of the duke d'Aiguillon to the post of minister for foreign affairs. That nobleman, by the friendship of the countess du Barri, and the

the dishonourable interposition of the royal authority, had eluded the sword of Justice; and it was the strong expression of the duke of Brissac, a nobleman of a lively and romantic disposition, "*that he had indeed saved his head, but that his neck had been twisted.*" He was now preferred to an office of the highest importance; and the king, by constant marks of favour, seemed desirous on every occasion of triumphing over the feelings of his people.

Yet the insensibility of Lewis was A. D. 1771, not entirely proof against one instance ¹⁷⁷² of opposition: the princes of the blood had strongly protested against the late innovations; and their firmness had drawn upon them the king's indignation; they were forbid to appear in the royal presence, and ultimately banished from court; but these illustrious persons ill brooked their exile from scenes of gaiety and magnificence; with the life of the count of Clermont their fortitude expired; they languished to return to the circle of royal pleasures; and the king, who beheld the lustre of his court clouded during their absence, accepted, with pleasure, their overtures of accommodation.

The courts of Vienna and Madrid saw with regret the duke d'Aiguillon, as minister for foreign affairs, possessed of a post to which their wishes were

were incessantly recalling the duke of Choiseul : and the new secretary, though not destitute of capacity, yet suffered the partition of Poland to be concluded against the evident interest of France. Lewis himself was so struck at the first intelligence of the event, that he could not help exclaiming, " Alas ! if Choiseul had been here, this would not have happened." But this transient emotion soon subsided in the arms of the countess du Barri ; and the revolution of Stockholm, accomplished under the auspices of France, which overthrew the power of the aristocracy, and established the authority of the sovereign, restored the reputation of the duke d'Aiguillon.

Delivered from the remonstrances of his parliament, and devoted to voluptuousness, the hours of Lewis seemed to glide in constant enjoyment ; the chancellor de Maupcou took care that all money edicts were registered ; and the inventive spirit of finance, by oppressing the people, liberally supplied the profusion of the court. The holy deference of the king for the see of Rome was soothed by ceding to Pope Ganganelli, Avignon, and the county of Venaissin, which had been re-claimed in the administration of the duke of Choiseul. The marquis of Monteynard was, by the intrigues
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of the duke d'Aiguillon, dismissed from the war department; and the latter nobleman, by the fond partiality of the sovereign, was invested with the spoils of the disgraced minister,

But in the moment of satiety, the mind of Lewis still appeared im-
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pressed with settled melancholy; the sudden death of the marquis de Chauvelin, the companion of his sensual excesses, strongly affected him; and the subsequent fate of mareschal d'Armentieres, who expired in a similar manner, and who was nearly the same age as the monarch, increased his gloomy sensations. He was sensible of the daily diminution of his strength; even the charms of the countess du Barri could no longer excite desire; and though that lady still retained her influence, new objects were requisite to rouse the languid powers of the king. To provide these was the incessant care of the countess; and her assiduity in this office, proved at once fatal to her own grandeur, and the life of her royal slave.

A new beauty who was introduced into the bed of the monarch, communicated to the despoiler of her innocence the fatal seeds of disease. The symptoms of the small pox already appeared on the king, and by the advice of his physicians he was hastily removed from Trianon to Versailles,

faillies. The danger hourly increased; and Lewis, apprised of the nature of his disorder, found, with the approach of death, the sense of religion return; he desired that the countess du Barri, who had officiously attended him, might be removed; he received the sacrament; and declared his intention to exert himself ever after for the maintenance of religion, and the happiness of his people.

But it was not permitted to him to evince the sincerity of these declarations; the ignorance of his physicians co-operated with the virulence of the disease; a momentary change for the better was succeeded by certain indications of speedy dissolution; and eight days after the first attack, that monarch closed a reign of fifty-nine, and a life of sixty-five years.

Such was the fate of Lewis the Fifteenth, who at length fell a victim to those sensual appetites, in the gratification of which he had sacrificed his own fame and the welfare of his subjects. The enviable appellation of *well-beloved*, which had been conferred in the moment of danger by a lively and enthusiastic people, was effaced by thirty years of lascivious excess, profusion, and rapacity; his example had loosened the bands of morality, his prodigality had exhausted the credit and resources of his country, and his
wanton

wanton pride had trampled upon the remnant of the constitution. His affections seemed to have been confined within the narrow limits of his personal pleasures and security; the marchioness of Pompadour, who so long enjoyed his confidence and shared his embraces, expired without a sigh of regret from the monarch, who, during her life, had obeyed and adored her; and the death of his son, the dauphin, was received without any mark of emotion by the royal insensible. It was by incessantly suggesting to him his personal danger, that the countess du Barri stimulated him to the decisive measure of suppressing the ancient parliaments of France: but though concealed from the public eye, the embers of freedom were still carefully cherished; the magnanimity of those assemblies had awakened new ideas in the bosoms of the French; they were taught by the late remonstrances to consider their inherent rights; and the glorious flame, in the succeeding reign, burst forth with accumulated force, and overwhelmed the throne of despotism.

Chapter the Forty-First.

LEWIS THE SIXTEENTH ASCENDS THE THRONE OF FRANCE—REMOVES THE LATE MINISTERS—SUPPRESSES THE NEW, AND RECALLS THE ANCIENT PARLIAMENT OF PARIS—FINAL REDUCTION OF CORSICA—DISPUTES BETWEEN GREAT-BRITAIN AND HER COLONIES—DEARTH AND DISTURBANCES IN FRANCE—CORONATION OF THE KING—WAR BETWEEN SPAIN AND THE EMPEROR OF MOROCCO—RUPTURE BETWEEN GREAT-BRITAIN AND THE AMERICANS—SUPPRESSION OF THE MOUSQUETAIRES—MONSIEUR NECKER NOMINATED TO THE DIRECTION OF THE FINANCES—THE AMERICANS DECLARE THEMSELVES FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES—PRIVATELY SUPPORTED BY LEWIS—VISIT OF THE EMPEROR OF GERMANY TO PARIS—PROGRESS OF THE WAR IN AMERICA—DEFEAT AND CAPTURE OF GENERAL BURGOTNE.

A. D. 1774. **L**EWIS the Sixteenth, at the age of twenty, succeeded to the throne of his grandfather; and whatever satisfaction might arise from the splendid prospect before him, was alloyed by the general distress that presented itself through-

throughout the kingdom. Domestic cares were added to those of the public; the contagious disorder of which the late king died, had been communicated to his three daughters, the princesses Adelaide, Sophia, and Victoire; a general consternation took place; the people trembled for the safety of the king and his brothers; and it was scarcely deemed an improbable event, that the whole royal family might have been swept off by that fatal pest, which had so long been its inveterate enemy.

But these fears were of short duration; the princesses recovered from the natural disorder; and the king, with the two princes, his brothers, and the countess d'Artois, wife of the younger, were all inoculated at the same time, and were soon released from any apprehensions by the ease and safety of the operation; their example contributed to remove the prejudices against that important discovery, and to extend the practice from the court throughout the provinces of France.

The health of Lewis was no sooner confirmed, than he diligently applied himself to extinguish the discontent and alleviate the calamities of his people. He immediately determined to remove those persons from office whose errors, or oppressive conduct, had rendered them disagreeable to the nation: he recalled the count of Maurepas,

who had formerly occupied the marine department, but who had been banished from the court for three and twenty years; and whose ability and integrity had been esteemed and recommended by the deceased dauphin. This statesman, however, declined the resumption of his former station; and with a seat in the privy-council, without any particular office, influenced the most important concerns of government.

The countess du Barri, whose ascendancy over the passions of the late monarch had occasioned so many evils, was permitted to shelter herself in contempt and obscurity; several ladies, who had distinguished themselves by their servile affiduities to her, were banished from the royal circle; while the duchess of Grammont enjoyed at once the disgrace of her enemy, and the favour of the present sovereign; she was recalled to court by a letter from the young queen herself, and was treated with every mark of distinction and honour.

At length the duke d'Aiguillon resigned his office of prime minister; and the chancellor de Maupeou, who had divided with him the hatred of France, was dismissed from his high and important trust; yet, even on this occasion, the moderation of the king was conspicuous; the punishment of Maupeou was limited to the loss of his

his employment ; he was permitted to retire to the noble estate which he had acquired in Normandy, and to enjoy without restraint the spoils of an oppressed people. The seals were delivered to monsieur Miromesnil, president of the parliament of Rouen ; the count of Vergennes, who had filled with reputation the post of ambassador to the courts of Constantinople and Stockholm, was called to preside over the foreign department ; and the count of Muy, afterwards created marshal, was nominated secretary of war.

The dismissal of the duke d'Aiguillon had filled the partizans of the duke of Choiseul with the highest exultation ; their ardent fancy beheld him again invested with supreme authority, and extending his negotiations into the different courts of Europe ; but whether the enterprising genius of that nobleman was deemed inconsistent with the present pacific system, or that the subordinate ministers dreaded his haughty spirit, and silently traversed his return to power, the hopes of his adherents were suffered gradually to subside : he was indeed recalled to court, and shared with his sister, the duchess of Grammont, the smiles of his sovereign ; but these favours were only extended to him as a private person, and he was sedulously excluded from all participation in public affairs.

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A still more popular step was an edict published in the name of the king, in which he engaged to pay unremitting attention to the management of the finances; to restore the discharge of the public debt, which had been intercepted by his predecessor; and to make full compensation to those who had suffered by that injurious measure. At the same time several schemes of œconomy were introduced; and though these were more pleasing in their appearance than beneficial in their effects, yet the people received with transport, plans which promised some future attention to their happiness, and at least a desire to deliver them from the burdens under which they groaned. The price of bread, which had also risen to an excessive height, was reduced by the prudent management of the ministers: and those who in the confusion of the last reign had treasured up the corn in their granaries, were now persuaded to bring it to market.

Such attentions could not fail to command the gratitude of the populace, and whenever the monarch appeared in public, he was attended by the acclamations of the multitude; yet one circumstance was wanting to establish the general joy, and France still panted after the restoration of her ancient parliaments. When the solemn funeral service for the late king was performed in the abbey church of St. Denys, the new parliament

ment was summoned to attend the ceremonial ; but the duke of Orleans refused to appear, or to act in any manner in conjunction with that body. In a letter to the king he avowed his reasons for absenting himself ; and the monarch, disgusted with this unexpected opposition, and uncertain what effect it might produce upon the other princes of the blood, exiled the duke of Orleans, with his son the duke of Chartres, from his court.

The people, who had flattered themselves that the dismissal of the obnoxious ministers would have been attended by the restoration of their idol, the parliament, were stunned by this stroke ; they considered the two dukes as victims to the public good ; the general discontent immediately revived ; and Lewis, when next he presented himself to the inhabitants of the metropolis, instead of the usual marks of applause, was received in awful silence ; dejection was strongly painted in every countenance ; and the young monarch soon perceived that he could only reign in the hearts of his subjects by a ready compliance with their wishes.

Preparations were immediately made to soothe the anxious minds of an enthusiastic people ; the duke of Orleans was again invited to join the royal councils, and his presence gave confidence

to their resolutions. The lettres de cachet which had been issued against the members of the ancient parliament, were revoked; guards were posted, to secure the obnoxious persons who composed the present from the rage of the populace; and the king, after attending divine service, went to the great chamber of parliament, accompanied by his brothers, by the dukes of Orleans and Chartres, the other princes of the blood, and the great officers of state, and commanded the edict to be registered which re-established the ancient parliaments, and for ever suppressed the new.

But though the prudence of Lewis had suggested to him this compliance with the ardent desires of his subjects, he endeavoured still to preserve pure and undiminished the royal authority; and was equally averse with his predecessor to granting to these popular assemblies any power that could possibly circumscribe his own. He explained his intentions by the speech in which he addressed that august body. The step that he had taken to ensure the tranquillity and happiness of his subjects, ought not, he observed, to invalidate his own authority; and he hoped, from the zeal and attachment of the present assembly, an example of submission to the rest of his subjects. Their repeated resistance to the commands of his grandfather had compelled that monarch to maintain

maintain his prerogative by their banishment; and they were now recalled, in the expectation that they would quietly exercise their functions, and display their gratitude by their obedience. He concluded with declaring, that it was his desire to bury in oblivion all past grievances; that he should ever behold with extreme disapprobation whatever might tend to create divisions and disturb the general tranquillity; and that his chancellor would read his ordinance to the assembly, from which they might be assured he would not suffer the smallest deviation to be made.

That ordinance was couched in the most explicit terms, and was immediately registered by the king's command: The articles of it limited within very narrow bounds the pretensions of the parliament of Paris; the members were forbidden to look upon themselves as one body with the other parliaments of the kingdom, or to take any step, or assume any title, that might tend towards, or imply, such an union: They were enjoined never to relinquish the administration of public justice, except in cases of absolute necessity, for which the first president was to be responsible to the king; and it was added, that on their disobedience the Grand Council might replace the parliament, without any new edict for the purpose.

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They were still however permitted to enjoy the right of remonstrating before the registering of any edicts or letters patent, which they might conceive injurious to the welfare of the people, provided they preserved in their representations the respect due to the throne. But these remonstrances were not to be repeated; and the parliament, if they proved ineffectual, were to register the edict objected to within a month at farthest from the first day of its being published: They were strictly forbidden to issue any arrets which might excite trouble, or in any manner retard the execution of the king's ordinances; and they were assured by the king himself, at the conclusion of this code for their future conduct, that as long as they adhered to the bounds prescribed, and attempted not to enlarge the power granted to them, they might depend upon his protection and countenance.

Such were the terms on which Lewis consented to restore the ancient parliaments of his kingdom; and while he delivered himself from the odium that involved his predecessor, he reduced the authority of those assemblies which had shaken the infant throne of Lewis the Fourteenth. Yct the concessions of the parliament may be vindicated as prudent and politic; they had to contend with a young monarch, possessed of the affections

fections of the people, and whose short reign had not yet allowed them an opportunity of changing their opinions. Most of the members had purchased their places at a considerable expence; and though their zeal amidst the popular applause had triumphed over every other consideration, yet they could not be entirely indifferent to the honours and affluence they had renounced. Each day more firmly established the jurisdiction that had been erected on their ruins; and should a continuance of their absence gradually extinguish the regard of the Parisians, they were sensible the jealousy of the crown would ever afterwards preclude their recall from exile; but if once reinstated in their dignities and the administration of justice, new opportunities might offer of re-asserting the power they had surrendered.

Even in the first moments of their return, they displayed a spirit unsubdued by adversity; the article respecting remonstrances was darkly and doubtfully worded, and they already aspired to their former pretensions; but their infant opposition was crushed by the decision of the monarch; and the answer to one of their representations, *That he must be obeyed*, was conclusive.

It was not only the parliament that silently bowed before the majesty of the new sovereign: The archbishop of Paris had renewed the commotions

motions of the bull *Unigenitus*, and had opposed the administration of the sacrament; but he was vanquished by the stern justice of the king, who declared, that instead of consigning him to that exile which the late monarch had repeatedly inflicted, on his again disturbing the tranquillity of the kingdom he would give him over to the utmost rigour of the law.

The provincial parliaments of Besançon, Bourdeaux, Aix, Thoulouse, and Brittany, that had been suppressed by the deceased monarch, were also restored by the present; and unanimity established at home, France had leisure to direct her attention to her late conquest of Corsica, which still struggled to throw off the yoke, and resume her native independence.

To justify the severities which were afterwards practised against those brave but unfortunate islanders, the court of Versailles had industriously circulated a rumour of dark and bloody conspiracy. But as no detail of this plot has been given, the reality of it has ever been questioned; and it is more than probable, the revolt of the Corsicans originated in the oppression of their governors, and was the result of momentary indignation, rather than the consequence of any settled plan: Whatever was the source of it, the effects were fatal to that unhappy people; some transient successes

cesses in the first desultory hostilities, were soon effaced by a series of sanguinary chastisements. The new ministers were desirous of displaying their vigour and activity; fresh reinforcements were continually poured into the island; and the inmost recesses of that mountainous country were penetrated by the perseverance, and overwhelmed by the numbers of the victors: those who had appeared most forward in opposing the government of France, atoned for their imprudence by the loss of their lives; and great part of their followers, who had been excited to arms by their rash suggestions, were transported to the West India islands, and condemned to perpetual slavery.

In the final reduction of Corsica, France had seized the moment of favourable enterprise; and her ancient and formidable rival, England, was diverted from attending to her conduct, by her own more momentous and immediate concerns. The last war, which had so deeply wounded the glory and power of the house of Bourbon, had established the dominion of the English over North America; but with an extent of territory, that people seem not to have possessed, or to have cultivated the affections of their colonists. The idea of imposing various taxes on the Americans had been alternately adopted and abandoned; it was now finally determined to be enforced, and the
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the ministers of Great Britain proclaimed their resolution of drawing a settled revenue from their valuable dependancies across the Atlantic. A small duty was laid upon tea; but even this, trifling as it amounted to, was spurned at by the Americans; associations were formed, and subscriptions cheerfully entered into; and on the arrival of the ships that were freighted with the obnoxious commodity, several of them were boarded by parties of men disguised as Mohawk Indians, who, without committing any other act of violence, instantly threw the tea overboard; the captains of the other ships, alarmed for the interest of their owners, thought it most prudent to avoid risking a similar loss, and steered back their course to England.

These tumultuous proceedings in America were heard with resentment by the ministers of Great Britain; and it was determined severely to chastise the town and port of Boston, which had been distinguished as the scene of outrage. The British parliament condemned the town of Boston to pay for the tea thus destroyed; and as a further punishment, they resolved to deprive it of the privilege of a port, until the sovereign should be satisfied of the disposition of the inhabitants to carry on trade quietly, obey the laws, and submit to the duties imposed; until that
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should appear, the custom-house of Boston, and consequently the commerce, was to be removed to Salem, a port about seventeen miles distant.

This act of regulation was succeeded by another for the better government of Massachusetts Bay, the province in which Boston is situated. The bill for that purpose, altered entirely the form of constitution throughout the province; it took the whole executive power out of the hands of the people, and vested the nomination of judges, counsellors, and magistrates of all kinds, in the crown, and in some cases in the king's governor; and to give weight to these innovations, General Gage, an officer who had long served in America with reputation, was sent out as governor of the province with a considerable military force.

But the Americans received with indignation, instead of submission, the bill that had been framed for their coercion; at Boston they resolved to discontinue the use of all goods imported from the East Indies, and Great Britain, until their grievances should be fully redressed; and they strongly recommended every possible encouragement to be given to the manufactures of their own country. The other provinces of the continent, whose jealousy of the superior trade of Boston,

Boston, it was supposed, would have allured them to a concurrence in measures calculated for its depression, displayed a similar spirit of resistance: A general alarm was spread from one end of North America to the other; meetings were held in every town; and these numerous assemblies all agreed in expressing their dread, that their grants and charters, with all their rights and civil immunities, might be extinguished by the breath of parliament. Even Salem, the town to which the government and trade of Boston was to have been transferred, disdained to profit by the spoils of her oppressed brethren, and joined in the general reprobation of the injustice of Great Britain.

The new judges who had been appointed by the mother country were every where rendered incapable of proceeding in their office; upon opening the courts the juries throughout the province refused to be sworn, and rejected any other establishment than what had been warranted by the ancient laws and usages of their country; an end was put to all forms of law and government, and the province of Massachusetts Bay was relinquished to the same independent anarchy as had existed in the earliest ages. At length the twelve colonies that stretch from Nova Scotia to Georgia, and are distinguished by the names of New Hampshire,

Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode Island, Providence, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, animated by one spirit, nominated deputies to represent them in a general congress. This was held at Philadelphia, the capital of Pennsylvania; and their first resolution was an approbation of the conduct of Massachusetts-Bay, and a determination that if force should be employed to carry the acts against that province into execution, all America should join in the defence of it. They unanimously concurred in discouraging all goods imported from Great Britain, and they strongly exhorted the inhabitants to countenance their own manufactures: to this was subjoined an energetic address to the French inhabitants of Canada, inviting them to join the standard of freedom, and to render complete the confederacy of the continent of North America.

While the discontents of the colonies of Great Britain assumed the form of serious resistance, the empress of Russia was employed in terminating a long and successful war which she had maintained against the Ottoman Porte. The haughty spirits of the Moslems had been broken by repeated defeats; their camp presented a disgusting scene of mingled terror and mutiny; and the Divan at

length condescended to subscribe a treaty which exalted the glory of one empire as much as it debased the other. The independency of the Crimea was established; the districts of Kilburn, Kerche, and Jenickala, with the extensive country between the Bog and the Dnipier, were ceded to Russia; and a free navigation was granted to the Russians in all the Turkish seas, in which was included the passage of the Dardanelles, with all the privileges and immunities which had been allowed to the most favoured nations. With equal success Catharine at the same time extinguished a rebellion which had been excited in the ancient kingdoms of Casan and Astracan: the impostor, who had assumed the name and title of Peter the Third, was taken, and suffered the just punishment of his presumption; a few examples in the places most remarkable for their disaffection were necessarily made, but the clemency of the empress soon after extended a general pardon to the obscure and misguided multitude.

The death of pope Ganganelli, who had filled the apostolical chair with prudence and moderation, was an event generally regretted by the countries which yet acknowledged the dominion of the holy see. His pontificate had been rendered memorable by the abolition of the society of Jesus; and a vague and idle rumour pervaded Europe,

Europe, that he had fallen a sacrifice to the effects of poison, and to the resentment of that order. The falsehood of this charge was proved by the united testimony of the different ministers of the house of Bourbon: these were present at the opening of the body; and the physicians and surgeons who assisted at the operation, pronounced his decease to be the consequence of a gradual and natural decay. Though the authority of the successors of St. Peter have long been disregarded by the enlightened nations of Europe, yet the vacant dignity was warmly contested; and it was not till the ensuing year that the votes of the conclave fixed the tiara on the head of John Angelo Braschi, a native of Ravenna in the Romagna, and who assumed the name of Pius the Sixth.

Though Lewis could not behold without secret satisfaction the disturbances in America, which menaced the grandeur of Great Britain, yet the tranquillity and happiness of his own kingdom were far from being established; the wounds which had been inflicted by the supine profusion of the late monarch, still required time to heal; and the elevation of monsieur Turgot to the chief direction of the finances, afforded no small share of discontent to the powerful body of the farmers-general. That minister, endued with integrity and ability, had de-

A. D. 1775.

livered the commerce of grain from many injudicious restrictions, both with regard to the internal traffic and to foreign exportation ; but the scarcity of corn happened to coincide with the moment of his regulations, and those effects which arose from dearth, were ascribed to the innovations he had suggested. His secret enemies industriously circulated rumours, that the public distress was the consequence of certain political combinations ; and the people, whose real misery was augmented by an idea of the incapacity and injustice of their rulers, tumultuously assembled in large and formidable bodies. They insulted the magistrates, plundered the houses, and in the commission of these outrages not only destroyed vast quantities of corn and flour, which might have alleviated their wants, but increased the general distress by deterring the proprietors of provisions from bringing them to market. A distemper which had extended its fatal ravages amongst the cattle through the heart of the kingdom, added to the public gloom ; and at Dijon, the capital of Burgundy, the insurrection of the populace was attended with the most fatal consequences. The unhappy people, stimulated by want, and inflamed to madness, had pillaged the house of the intendant, who with difficulty escaped from their fury. To check their progress, it
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was necessary to summons to the support of government a body of regular troops; yet the hungry insurgents for some time maintained their ground against the disciplined valour of their adversaries; and it was not till near five hundred of these miserable wretches had fallen, that they relinquished the ineffectual conflict.

The capital itself was not exempt from similar distress and disorders; and Lewis, after having in vain endeavoured to sooth the turbulent misery of the people by the mildest remonstrances, now prepared to repress their outrages by the most decisive measures. He ordered the parliament of Paris to attend him at Versailles; and after representing to them the immediate exigency which compelled him to deviate from the usual course of justice, he expressly forbade them from making any representations on the steps that he was determined to pursue: that august body seemed indeed sensible of the necessity of adopting some quick and vigorous system, and silently acquiesced under the mandate of their sovereign.

The king having thus fortified the royal authority by the silent approbation of his parliament, commissioned the Marechaussee, a military body dependant on the police, to disperse the seditious multitude, and to execute summary justice on the most guilty. At the same time, a par-

don was held out to those who should retire home, and make restitution for the corn they had taken away. The good effects of these regulations were soon discernible; numbers endeavoured to efface their misconduct by reimbursing the persons whom they had plundered; a few atoned for their crimes under the hands of the executioner; and a plentiful harvest which ensued, banished the distress of the people, and confirmed the tranquillity of France.

To divert the minds of his subjects from the late gloomy scenes of misery, the king resolved to celebrate his coronation with royal magnificence at Rheims. The liberality of the clergy opportunely supplied a gift of twenty millions of livres; and the ancient dignities of the kingdom were revived on this occasion. The count de Provence represented the duke of Burgundy, the count d'Artois the duke of Normandy, the duke of Orleans the duke of Aquitain, the duke of Chartres the count of Thoulouse, the prince of Condé the count of Flanders, and the duke of Bourbon the count of Champagne.

The marriage of the princess Clotilda, sister to the king of France, to the prince of Piedmont, eldest son of the king of Sardinia, was an event but little interesting in modern politics. The courts of Paris and Turin had long been joined
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in the closest connection ; and the futility of these alliances, unless the mutual advantage of both parties cemented their subsequent union, had been too often experienced to occasion any alarm to the other powers of Europe.

The humanity of Lewis was conspicuously displayed in an edict which he caused to be registered in parliament, and which in future sentenced the deserters from his army to work as slaves on the public roads, instead of punishing them as formerly with death ; and with equal attention to the general welfare of his subjects, he seized the moment of peace to reduce part of his numerous forces, and to fulfil those promises of œconomy which on his accession he had given to his people. The death of the mareschal de Muy, who filled the post of secretary at war, was succeeded by the appointment of the count de St. Germain to the vacant department : that nobleman, during the last war, had enjoyed a high military command in Germany : and the prince and his subjects were alike impressed with the most favourable opinion of his genius and application.

While one royal branch of the house of Bourbon thus emerged from the clouds that had obscured its glory, the other still more eminently displayed the weakness of its government, and the deficiency of its judgment. Charles the Third, king

of Spain, was aroused from his peaceful slumber by the hostile insults of a barbarian, who ruled over part of Africa, and who stiled himself emperor of Morocco. This Moorish prince, without any pretence of injury, in a letter to the king of Spain, declared himself enjoined by the laws of the Alcoran to expel the Christians from the forts that they held on the African coast; at the same time that he professed his wish in every other respect to maintain the peace that he subscribed to with the court of Madrid, and to preserve inviolate the commercial intercourse of the two nations.

This singular manifesto of Mahomed Ben Abdalla was answered by the court of Madrid by a declaration of war; but before Spain could transport her forces to this distant scene of contest, the Moorish prince, with a numerous and ill-disciplined army, had laid siege to Melilla, in the kingdom of Fez, on the shores of the Mediterranean, and opposite to Almeria in Spain. Though that fortress was in every respect but badly provided, yet the constancy and conduct of the governor repelled the desultory attacks of the assailants; and the emperor, after having continued the blockade for some months, retired from the inauspicious walls.

If Spain had been tardy in affording succour
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to the distress of her subjects in Africa, her preparations to avenge the insult were proportioned to the length of time that had been employed in making them. Twenty-six thousand of the best troops of that kingdom, supplied with every engine for offensive or defensive war, were embarked on board four hundred transports. These were escorted by seven ships of seventy-four guns, eight of forty, and thirty-two frigates. This formidable armament, which threatened to overwhelm all Africa, after a tedious voyage, cast anchor in the Bay of Algiers; and the count O'Reilly, to whom the command of the land-forces were entrusted, determined immediately to commence his operations.

While the ships diverted the attention of the enemy by a feigned attack on the town of Algiers, four thousand of the Spanish infantry were successfully landed; but these, instead of obeying the commands of their general, and patiently awaiting the junction of their companions, rushed to the encounter with the Moors, and were received with a degree of firmness that was little expected. The consequence of this presumption was what might have been easily foreseen; as fast as fresh troops were landed, they hastened to the support of their friends, already engaged; and the advantages of skill and discipline were renounced in

in a combat which was only distinguished by desperate courage and blind fury. For thirteen hours the sense of national honour supported the Spaniards against the torrent of their enemies; at length, after the loss of near four thousand of their best troops, they were obliged to retire under shelter of the cannon of their ships: notwithstanding the fatigues they had undergone in the course of the day, it was deemed prudent to avail themselves of the night for a speedy embarkation; and an armament that was considered so superior to the object of its destination as to awaken the jealousy of the European powers, returned to Spain, baffled and defeated by naked and undisciplined barbarians.

Whatever concern Lewis might feel for the disgrace of the kindred throne of Spain, was amply compensated by the difficulties in which he observed the ancient rival of France rapidly involving herself. The language of resistance adopted by America had not shaken the resolution of the ministers of Great-Britain, and the eyes of Europe were impatiently turned on the approaching contest. The inhabitants of Rhode-Island were no sooner informed of the prohibition to export military stores from Great-Britain, than they seized on the ordnance belonging to the crown in that district, and openly avowed their intention,
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in this act of violence, was to defend themselves against any power that should presume to molest them. Their example was followed by the people of New-Hampshire, who surprised a small fort, called William and Mary, and supplied themselves with a quantity of ammunition.

General Gage did not behold with indifference these acts of outrage ; and on information that some brass cannon were deposited in the town of Salem, he detached a body of troops, commanded by a field-officer, to seize them ; but the cannon had already been removed : a subsequent detachment of nine hundred men, for the same purpose, was directed to penetrate to Lexington ; the march of these were interrupted by the Provincials, who had taken the alarm, and began to assemble. They were dispersed by some shots fired from the Regulars, and a few of the Americans were wounded and killed. The adjacent country was in a moment summoned to the support of their friends ; their increasing numbers pressed upon the British troops, who effected their retreat with considerable loss and difficulty ; it is probable indeed the whole detachment must have been cut off, had not the prudence of general Gage, apprehensive of the event, directed a more considerable body to hasten to their relief. Strengthened by this reinforcement,

ment, they continued their march ; and amidst a variety of defultory attacks, and with some additional loss, reached Boston.

The attempt on Lexington excited the indignation of the whole province ; the people immediately flew to arms, and Boston was invested by twenty thousand men, under the command of colonel Putnam, an officer who had acquired experience and reputation in the two last wars. But general Gage in the interval had been joined by the generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, with a considerable body of troops from England ; and it was determined to drive the Americans from some works which they had erected on Bunker's Hill, an height that commanded the town of Boston. This service was committed to the generals Howe and Clinton, at the head of two thousand select soldiers ; they were received with a firmness that might have staggered the most veteran troops ; and it was not till the loss of half their number in killed and wounded, that their persevering valour triumphed over the obstinacy of their enemies, and drove the Americans from their entrenchments.

The General Congress at Philadelphia had not in the mean time been idle ; the province of Georgia had acceded to the confederacy ; and the different states now assumed the appellation of

of the *Thirteen United Colonies*. Mr. Washington, a gentleman of fortune in Virginia, and who had fought at the head of several provincial bodies during the last war, was nominated commander in chief of all the American forces; the Congress also fixed the pay both of officers and soldiers, the latter of which were provided for with the utmost liberality.

But an expedition which was planned by the Americans against Quebec, the capital of Canada, was not attended with that success which the authors of it fondly expected: They had surprised and swept all the important fortresses that commanded the entrance into that province; but in an attempt by a coup-de-main to possess themselves of the town, they were repulsed with cruel slaughter. General Montgomery, who commanded the assailants, and who had been trained to arms in the British service, fell on this occasion; colonel Arnold, the second in command, was severely wounded; and the besiegers, after this check, retired to an awful distance, and were content to change the siege into a blockade.

While Lewis anxiously directed his attention towards America, and watched the gradual progress of hostility, he was not indifferent to the internal regulation of his own country. The count de St Germain justified the opinion that had
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been formed of his courage and abilities ; and intent only on the advantage of the state, ventured on a reform which menaced him with the resentment of the most noble families of France.

The Mousquetaires, a corps instituted for the protection of the royal person, were composed of young men of the most illustrious extraction ; and though such a guard must have been highly flattering to the dignity of the sovereign, yet the expence attending it was severely felt, and frequently regretted. The suppression of it had been repeatedly agitated ; but no minister had yet been found sufficiently hardy to encounter the odium with which it was likely to be attended. This instance of political fortitude was reserved for the count de St. Germain ; he enforced to Lewis the considerable savings that might be applied from the reduction of a corps, the offspring of pagantry, to the effective marching battalions ; an edict was accordingly published for the suppression of the Mousquetaires ; and those brave men, whose courage had always been celebrated, received the news of their dismissal with marks of the deepest despair. Attached to each other by similarity of habits, and cemented in friendship by common dangers and service, they regarded the decree that separated them with equal grief, as if it had sentenced their immediate execution. Monsieur de

la Chaîse, a veteran officer of approved resolution, and one of their commanders, fainted away on receiving the fatal mandate ; and all the rest vented their sorrow in the loudest and most poignant exclamations : But the king and his minister were inexorable ; and the capital was not sorry to be delivered from a corps, whose impetuous and overbearing spirit too frequently insulted the more humble class of citizens.

The naval department was inspected with equal diligence and care : When A. D. 1776. the administration of the duke of Choiseul expired, and his cousin the duke of Praslin was dismissed from superintending the marine, that nobleman declared, that he left sixty-four ships of the line in the ports of France, besides those that were on the stocks ; this force had not been suffered to decline in the present reign, and the appointment of Monsieur de Sartine to the marine department did honour to the penetration of the sovereign. That minister, fruitful in resources, and unwearied in his application, was incessantly engaged in augmenting the naval strength of his country ; and the various preparations that filled the ports and docks, created no small uneasiness to the court of London.

One appointment more was still necessary to stamp the royal mind free from prejudice and open

open to the impresson of merit. Monsieur Turgot, though possessed of integrity and industry, had not been able to command the public confidence : On his retreat, Monsieur Clugny, intendant-general of Bourdeaux, had been elevated to the vacant post ; on his death, which happened soon after, M. Taboreau des Reaux was appointed his successor ; and Lewis soon after associated with him, in the management of the finances, Monsieur Necker, by birth a Swiss, and by religion a Protestant. That gentleman, in the preceding reign, had been chosen to adjust some differences between the East India Company and the crown ; and had discharged his trust with such rare discretion as to challenge the approbation of both parties. Possessed of distinguished and acknowledged probity, his appointment would have excited no surprise, had it not been contrary to the constant policy of France, which had carefully excluded the aliens of her country and faith from the controul of her revenue. It now stood forward as a new instance of enlargement of mind and liberality of sentiment ; and will to posterity mark the prominent features of the reign of Lewis the Sixteenth.

With equal zeal to extend the dominion of science, Lewis fitted out several vessels on astronomical discoveries. The Chevalier de Borda was instructed

instructed to ascertain the exact position of the Canary Islands and Cape de Verd; and the different degrees of the coast of Africa from Cape Spartel to the island of Goree: the chevalier Grenier, who had traversed the Indian seas to improve the charts and correct the errors which had misled former navigators, was liberally rewarded by a monarch who aspired to immortalize the æra of his power by expeditions beneficial to mankind.

But as often as the eyes of Lewis were recalled, so often did they return with increase of anxiety to the continent of North America. The contest between Great Britain and her colonies became each hour more important, and the humanity and interest of European powers were deeply concerned in the event. General Gage, as commander in chief, had been superceded by general Howe; and that officer, pressed and closely blockaded by the superior numbers of the Americans, determined to quit the narrow limits of the town of Boston and to retire to Halifax, until he should be joined by the succours that he expected from England. Though he was permitted to embark his troops without molestation, yet the acquisition of Boston reflected no small lustre on the arms of the Americans. Throughout the different provinces, the governors nominated by the king of England, had been almost universally expelled by the rising indignation

of the inhabitants; each day seemed to establish more firmly the jurisdiction of the states; their privateers overspread the seas, and captured the rich merchant vessels of the English; and Lewis, while he professed to the court of London, a strict neutrality, afforded to the vessels of America a secure refuge in his harbours, where they bartered their spoils for arms and ammunition so necessary for the support of their cause.

But Great Britain, however astonished by the unexpected resistance of her colonies, determined not to resign so rich a sovereignty without a struggle: a force was prepared which it was thought must look them into submission; large bodies of German troops were hired from the princes of Hesse Cassel and Brunswick, sovereigns who supply the splendour of their courts by the blood of their subjects; these were strengthened by considerable detachments from the electorate of Hanover, and by a number of British regiments; and when added to the troops that had been embarked from Boston, the whole army under general Howe could not be estimated at less than thirty thousand men.

Previous to the arrival of these reinforcements, general Howe had directed his course from the sterile coast of Halifax, and landed his troops on Staten Island, in the vicinity of New York. He

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was there successively joined by his brother admiral lord Howe, and the armament from Great Britain. All overtures of accommodation were fruitless; the thirteen colonies of America had already declared themselves free and independent states, and abjured all allegiance to the British crown; and the sword alone could terminate the dispute.

The possession of New York would enable Great Britain, by its central position, either to carry on the war in Connecticut on the eastern side; or, on the western quarter, to penetrate through New Jersey to Pennsylvania. To reduce that province was therefore the grand object of general Howe, and the operations that he immediately commenced were attended with the most brilliant success. Though general Washington with a numerous army occupied both Long Island and New York, yet his soldiers were raw and undisciplined; their officers were ignorant of the art of war, and only inflamed with an enthusiastic love of freedom; and they were astonished and confounded by the rapid evolutions and superior skill of their adversaries. The British forces had first landed on Long Island, from which the Americans were chased with the loss of above four thousand of their best troops; thence the victorious army, flushed with success, passed over to New York; while general Washington, convinced by

fatal experience of the inferiority of his soldiers, determined to avoid in future any decisive action, and to protract the war amidst the woods and wilds with which the country abounds. In pursuance of this plan he abandoned New York without a blow; retired to the higher grounds, and with no small degree of dexterity constantly eluded the pursuit of the victor; while general Howe, after harassing his troops in fruitless attempts to overtake him, returned to reduce the fortresses in the neighbourhood of New York, and extended his posts far into the Jerseys.

The distress of Quebec had not escaped the vigilance of Great Britain, and an important reinforcement was destined to its relief: but before this could arrive, general Carleton, who, as governor of Canada, commanded in that town, strengthened by the marines, and a detachment from some ships of war that had entered the harbour, had achieved his own deliverance. The small band of Americans, disheartened by their former repulse, and weakened by disease, was easily broken; they retired in disorder, and the forces of the king of England in Canada, swelled by the arrival of the expected regiments to thirteen thousand men, pursued with vigour the fugitives, and expelled them from that important province.

Hitherto

Hitherto the United States of America had suffered a series of heavy and unexpected defeat. One instance of success alone gleamed through the clouds which obscured their dawning glory. An attempt had been made on Charles Town, the capital of North Carolina, by commodore Sir Peter Parker and general Clinton, previous to their joining lord and general Howe. But the fort which commanded the passage to Charles Town was gallantly defended by colonel Moultrie, an American officer; and general Lee, with a considerable body of forces, preserved his communication with the fortress, and could at discretion augment the garrison. After a severe and furious cannonade for several hours, the British commodore withdrew his shattered vessels from the action, and relinquished the hopeless enterprise.

But in the neighbourhood of New York, the advantages of general Howe had been rapid and uninterrupted: Fort Washington was taken by assault; the garrison of three thousand men were made prisoners; Sir Peter Parker and general Clinton reduced Rhode Island; and lord Cornwallis, with a separate detachment, penetrated through the Jerseys, appeared on the Banks of the Delaware, and threatened the safety of Philadelphia, the seat of the Congress.

The loss which the Americans had sustained by the sword, by captivity, and by desertion, though severe and discouraging, equalled not the embarrassments that arose from the temporary engagements which their soldiers had entered into: these were mostly enlisted for a year only; and unaccustomed to restraint, at the expiration of that term, they panted to return to their families, and few were prevailed upon to continue in the service. Yet amidst these various difficulties, the mind of general Washington was a stranger to despondency; he continued to observe with a vigilant eye the motions of his enemies; their posts, in the moment of triumph and security, had been extended to the Delaware; and the American commander suddenly assembling a small but select body of men, silently marched to attack colonel Rall, a Hessian officer, who with fifteen hundred Hessians occupied Trentown, on the banks of that river. The enterprise was attended with the most brilliant success; colonel Rall with a few of his soldiers were killed; and near a thousand were made prisoners: the British general, taught caution by this chastisement, contracted his posts; and Philadelphia was for the present delivered from a dangerous and hostile neighbour.

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The exultation of France had been
openly and constantly proportioned to A. D. 1777.
the success of the Americans; the princes of the
blood and the chief nobility were eager to em-
bark in support of the cause of freedom; and the
prudence of the king and his most confidential
ministers, alone restrained their ardour. The fa-
tal events of last war were still impressed on the
mind of Lewis; and he could not readily consent
to expose his infant marine in a contest with a
people who had so frequently asserted the domi-
nion of the seas, and so lately broken the united
strength of the house of Bourbon. Yet he was
sensible that the opportunity of humbling these
haughty islanders should not be entirely neglect-
ed, and that some advantages should be taken of
the present commotions in America. Two agents
from the United States, Silas Deane and Doctor
Benjamin Franklin, had successively arrived at
Paris; and though all audience was denied them
in a public capacity, still they were privately en-
couraged to hope that France only waited the
proper opportunity to vindicate in arms the free-
dom and independence of America. In the mean
time the military preparations of that kingdom
were diligently continued; the American cruizers
were hospitably received into her ports; artillery
and all kinds of warlike stores were freely sold or

liberally granted to the distress of the colonists ; French officers and engineers, with the connivance of government, entered into their service ; and the marquis de la Fayette, a young nobleman of affluent fortune, and nearly allied to the illustrious house of Noailles, under pretence of visiting some relations in Italy, hired a frigate ; and impatient to join the standard of Liberty, steered towards America: he was received with open arms by the United States, and soon after promoted to a principal command. '

At this critical juncture, the death of Joseph the First, king of Portugal, was not a matter of indifference to the house of Bourbon. Attached by gratitude and long and intimate connections to the English, he had a short time previous to his decease, entered into a dispute with the court of Madrid respecting the limits of their different settlements in South America. The influence of the king of France had prevented the desultory hostilities that were commenced in that quarter of the globe from communicating to Europe ; yet every appearance proclaimed a disposition jealous and inimical ; and it is probable that the opportune death of the king, only, deterred Portugal from engaging in an open war with Spain. His eldest daughter, the princess of Brazil, succeeded to the vacant throne : in compliance with
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the customs of the court of Lisbon, she had already received in marriage the hand of her own uncle, the brother of her father; and her son, the prince of Beira, the presumptive heir of the crown, had united himself to the younger sister of his mother. The new sovereign immediately applied herself to terminate the differences which had originated in the former reign; a perfect good understanding was soon established between the two courts; the island of St. Catherines, on the coast of Brazil, which had already been reduced by Spain, was instantly restored; the limits of their settlements in South America were amicably ascertained; and the most explicit treaty of peace, union, and friendship was finally ratified between the two crowns: nor could France be totally unconcerned in a negotiation which thus converted the ancient foe to the firm ally of the house of Bourbon.

The visit of the emperor of Germany to the court of Paris was another occurrence that excited the attention of Europe. Averse to pomp, he chose to travel under the humble title of count Falkenstein; he was received by Lewis with that respect which was due to the imperial dignity and the regard that he was impatient to testify to the brother of his royal consort. During six weeks that the emperor remained at Paris, his hours
were

were incessantly devoted to examine the various establishments of that capital, and in viewing the manufactures; with the same spirit of enquiry he made a tour through the different provinces of the kingdom, and in his journey endeavoured to glean whatever might be advantageous to his own dominions.

His example was in some measure imitated by the brothers of Lewis, the counts de Provence and d'Artois: these also resolved to visit the distant districts of France; their liberality and amiable manners commanded, in their progress, the esteem of all ranks of people; they were every where received with unbounded acclamations; and the French, enthusiastic in the admiration of their sovereign, endeavoured to display their loyalty by the marks of regard which they paid to these princes of the blood.

Some changes were about this time introduced into the different departments of state; the conduct of Monsieur Necker in the finances had been attended with universal approbation; Monsieur Taboureaux des Reaux, his colleague, had resigned his situation, but still retained the dignity of counsellor of state. To afford full scope to the genius of Monsieur Necker, Lewis determined no longer to clog him with an associate; but with the title of director-general of the finances,

finances, submitted to him the entire management of the funds and revenue of France.

The spirited measures of the count de St. Germain in suppressing the Mousquetaires have already been remarked. Whether the consequences were such as every former minister had dreaded, and the resentment of the noble families of France had oppressed the secretary of war; or that statesman was found, as has been hinted, too intractable in the cabinet, and too partial to his own system, has never yet transpired; his official station for some time, however, had been extremely uneasy, and he now determined to resign; his death, in the ensuing year, prevented that recall which probably would have taken place; and the prince de Montbarey, who had already filled an inferior situation in that department, was now appointed secretary at war.

Lewis was not less attentive to his negotiations with foreign courts, than he was desirous of providing the state with able and industrious ministers. He concluded a new treaty of alliance with Switzerland; vigilantly observed the motions of the different princes of Germany on the death of the elector of Bavaria; and when closely questioned by the English ambassador, lord Stormont, respecting the various warlike preparations which were diligently continued through
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the kingdom, he replied, That at a time when the seas were covered with English fleets and American cruizers, and when such armies were sent to the New World as had never before appeared there, it became prudent for him also to arm for the security of the colonies, and the protection of the commerce, of France.

The king was not ignorant at the same time, that the remonstrances of Great-Britain, and the importunities of the agents of the United States, would soon compel him to adopt some decisive line of conduct. Though general Howe, after the defeat of colonel Rall, had continued in force at New-York, yet he had abandoned his former design of penetrating through the Jerseys to Philadelphia. With the return of spring he determined to proceed against that city by sea, and avail himself of the superiority of his naval force. He embarked eighteen thousand men ; and after a tedious voyage entered Chesapeak Bay ; sailed up the river Elk, as far as it was capable of admitting his transports ; and landed his troops in the highest health and condition.

General Washington had not been deceived by the preparatory movements of his military rival, but had early penetrated into his designs, and with an army of fifteen thousand men, had marched to the defence of Philadelphia, and
advanced

advanced to Brandywine Creek, which, crossing the country at some distance from that city, falls into the Delaware. As the British army moved forwards from the head of the Elk, a variety of skirmishes took place; and on general Howe passing the Brandywine, the American commander relinquished his usual caution, and hazarded a more decisive action. On this occasion, the marquis de la Fayette charged among the foremost; and, though wounded, continued to animate the corps that he commanded by his example: but the Americans were at length compelled to yield to the superior skill and discipline of their enemies; night saved their army from a total defeat; and general Washington retiring to Chester, pursued next day his march to Philadelphia.

Towards that city the British forces rapidly advanced; and the Americans judged it prudent to abandon without a battle the capital of Pennsylvania, and the seat of Congress. It was immediately occupied by the English; but the major part of their army was quartered at German Town, a considerable village, about six miles distant from Philadelphia. The Congress, on quitting Philadelphia, transferred the seat of empire to York-Town; and general Washington encamped

encamped at Skippach Creek, about sixteen miles from German-Town.

Amidst these various disasters one consolation remained to support the confidence of the United States. In Great-Britain it had been represented that the majority of the Americans were still attached to the mother-country, and averse to the new government; but though general Howe had traversed a vast extent of country, though he had possessed himself of the rich and populous cities of New-York and Philadelphia, yet the active adherents of the Crown were found to be inconsiderable, both in property and numbers; while general Washington, after the defeat of Brandywine, had been largely reinforced by the zeal of his party, and now meditated the surprise of the royal army in its camp at German-Town.

This enterprise, though planned and executed with a degree of ability and vigour that reflected honour on the character of the general, was yet unsuccessful. The Americans indeed penetrated into the middle of German-Town; but by that time the main body of the English army had taken the alarm, and the raw troops of the States were obliged to give way before the veteran valour of their enemies. The inclemency of the season soon after suspended their mutual animosity; the
British

British forces were quartered in Philadelphia, and the villages adjacent; and general Washington, with the army of the States, occupied a strong camp on the banks of the Schuylkill, about sixteen miles from that city.

If in the south of America the events of the campaign furnished matter of triumph to Great-Britain, the United States received ample compensation by an advantage on the northern side, as decisive as it was unexpected. After the expulsion of the Americans from Canada, the ministers of England were determined to pursue their advantages in that quarter; an army of near eight thousand men was diligently collected, and entrusted to general Burgoyne, an officer who had acquired some reputation in the last war in Portugal: The chief object of his destination was to penetrate from Canada through Albany, to New-York; and scattering terror as he past, at length to effect a junction with general Howe. His success at first was rapid and uninterrupted; the Americans, seized with panic, abandoned Ticonderoga, a strong fort between Lake George and Lake Champlain, and retired precipitately towards Fort Edward, upon the Hudsons river.

Towards the banks of that river the British army also directed its march; but whether the
general

general himself was too dilatory in his motions, or the roads opposed insuperable obstacles to troops incumbered with heavy baggage and a vast train of artillery, certain it is that their progress was slow and laborious; and the interval was assiduously employed by the United States in restoring the courage of their adherents, and summoning their scattered forces to their defence. General Arnold, who had distinguished himself in the attack of Quebec, advanced from Connecticut with a considerable corps, and several pieces of cannon; and general Gates, who had been trained to arms in the British service, but who had joined the standard of the Americans, soon collected a formidable army, to the command of which he was nominated by the Congress.

General Burgoyne had no sooner prepared to pass Hudson's River, than he was fatally convinced of the number and strength of his adversaries. A detachment of near nine hundred men, which had marched into the country to procure a supply of cattle, was almost totally cut off; and a second, that had been directed to support them, effected their retreat with considerable loss. Yet these inauspicious events did not deter that commander from passing the North River near Saratoga; and probably the strict
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tenor of his orders allowed him not to decline a measure pregnant with every species of calamity. The Americans, under general Gates, were incamped at a small distance, at a place called Still Water; and no sooner did they perceive the approach of the British forces, than they quitted their lines and pressed forwards to engage them: The action was long maintained with mutual rage and obstinacy; at length the troops of the states gave way; but the darkness of the night covered their retreat; the victors obtained at an irreparable loss only the empty honours of the field; while the vanquished, confiding in their numbers, prepared to renew the conflict.

In two successive actions the hostile armies again encountered each other with similar courage, but with different success; and the British troops in their turn were broken and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of their enemies. Though they recovered their camp, and still maintained some appearance of resistance, their situation was desperate: Reduced to half their original number, worn out with toil, and distant from all hopes of succour, their general consented to open a negotiation; and an army that had threatened to carry destruction through the continent of America, was compelled to pile their

arms before a general of the United States ; who, in the name of Congress, subscribed a treaty by which the vanquished troops were to be transported to England on condition that they did not serve again in America during the course of the war.

Chapter

Chapter the Forty-Second.

GENERAL STATE OF EUROPE—FRANCE ACKNOWLEDGES THE INDEPENDENCE OF, AND CONCLUDES A TREATY WITH, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN—COUNT D'ESTAING SAILS FOR AMERICA—ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN COUNT D'ORVILLE AND ADMIRAL KEPPEL—OPERATIONS OF COUNT D'ESTAING IN AMERICA—DOMINICA REDUCED BY THE MARQUIS OF BOUILLE—LOSS OF ST. LUCIA—REPULSE OF COUNT D'ESTAING AT THAT ISLAND—LOSS OF PONDICHERY AND THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS IN THE EAST INDIES—SENTENCE OF COUNT LALLY REVERSED—DEATH OF VOLTAIRE—COUNT D'ESTAING CONQUERS ST. VINCENTS AND GRENADA—ENGAGES ADMIRAL BYRON—IS DEFEATED AT THE SAVANNAH—SPAIN JOINS THE WAR AGAINST ENGLAND—THE COMBINED FLEETS ENTER THE CHANNEL—SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR—ERUPTION OF VESUVIUS.

THE success of the Americans in the last campaign was received at Paris with unbounded exultation ; monsieur Sartine, who presided over the marine department, was impatient to measure the naval strength of France

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with that of Great Britain; the queen, who had long seconded the applications of the agents of the United States, now espoused their cause with increase of ardour; the pacific inclinations of Lewis were overborne by the suggestions of his ministers and the influence of his royal consort; and it was at length determined openly to acknowledge the independence of the United States of America.

The situation of Europe at this juncture was peculiarly favourable to the determination of the king of France, and the ambitious views of his council. Some differences between the court of Petersburg and the Ottoman Porte, respecting the Crimea, threatened a revival of those hostilities which had been so lately adjusted; and had the empress of Russia been willing, must have precluded her from affording any assistance to the English. The flames of war had been rekindled between the houses of Austria and Brandenburg; and the claims of the former to some part of the succession of the electorate of Bavaria, had summoned the rival monarchs to the field. Spain, by the family compact, was bound to accede to the designs, and to strengthen the arms of France: Portugal, by her late treaty with Spain, had formed an intimate union with the house of Bourbon; and if her weakness prevented her from joining

joining the hostile confederacy of that family, her neutrality was at least secured : while Holland, silently occupied in extending her commerce, secretly rejoiced at those measures which plunged the rest of Europe in war, and transferred to her ports the advantages of trade.

Such was the state of the most considerable European powers, whose dangerous enmity might have controlled the designs of the court of Versailles; and Lewis, satisfied that he had nothing to apprehend from their interference, now turned his whole attention to the approaching contest with the ancient rival of this kindom. For some time past his internal regulations had proclaimed a degree of wisdom and liberality rarely to be found in a crown that once had been characterised by blind superstition and jealous despotism. The elevation of a Protestant to the direction of the finances, seemed to have breathed a new spirit throughout the cabinet; and a royal ordinance was issued, that suppressed several of those numerous holidays so injurious to the industry of the people and the resources of the state.

Doctor Franklin and Silas Deane, who had hitherto acted as private agents, were now acknowledged as public ambassadors from the United States of America to the court of Versailles; and a treaty of amity and commerce was signed be-

tween the two powers in the month of February. The principal articles of it, after stipulating the mutual advantages of trade and the liberty and sovereignty of the United States, formed a confederacy against Great Britain, or any other power that should presume to interrupt their commercial intercourse: they provided also against either of the contracting powers, should war break out between France and Great Britain during the continuance of the present rupture between the United States and England, concluding any truce or peace without the formal consent of the other first obtained; and they finished with an invitation to any other powers that might have received injuries from England, to make a common cause with them, and to accede to the present alliance.

The duke of Noailles, ambassador to the court of London, was in the month of March instructed to acquaint the ministers of Great Britain, that his sovereign had formally acknowledged the independence of, and signed a treaty of commerce with, the United States of America; at the same time he declared, that the contracting parties had paid great attention not to stipulate any exclusive advantages in favour of France; and that the United States had reserved the liberty of treating with every nation whatever on the same footing
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of equality and reciprocity : but this stipulation was treated by the English with contempt ; and the recall of lord Stormont, their ambassador at Versailles, was the signal for the commencement of hostilities.

But Lewis had already prepared for this event ; and in the month of April the count d'Estaing, who, during the course of last war, had in the East Indies maintained the glory of his country, sailed from Toulon, with twelve ships of the line and four frigates. On board this fleet were embarked eight hundred select soldiers ; and Silas Deane, who had been deputed by Congress to the court of Versailles, and Conrad Alexander Gerard, secretary to the council of state, and appointed minister plenipotentiary to the United States of America, accompanied the count on board the *Languedoc*.

While this armament directed its course to the coast of America, a more considerable fleet was assembled at Brest, to vindicate the seas from the enterprises of the English, who had intercepted the trade, and captured the *Licorne*, a frigate belonging to France. This fleet consisted of thirty-two ships of the line ; the command was entrusted to the count d'Orvilliers ; the van was led by the count de Chafault, and the rear was animated by the presence of the duke of Chartres, by the

death of his father now duke of Orleans. Off Ushant the count d'Orvilliers discerned and engaged the English fleet, equal in force, and commanded by admiral Keppel. The event of the action was indecisive; the French, on the approach of night, withdrew to their own coasts; and the English, soon after, retired within their harbours to refit.

But though in this engagement France had acquired no advantage, and by first retreating seemed to yield the glory of the day to her rival, yet it afforded no inconsiderable triumph to that nation, that she had been able to face without loss, her powerful adversary on an element that had so frequently proved fatal to her. In a letter written by his own hand, the king bestowed the most liberal commendations on the count d'Orvilliers; he consoled with the count de Chasault, who had been wounded in the action; and added, that proper care should be taken of the widows of those who had fallen in supporting the honour of his flag. The fleet was once more refitted with all possible expedition; the duke of Chartres was raised to the command which before had been occupied by the count de Chasault; and count de Guichen succeeded to the duke of Chartres; after a cruize uninterrupted by the sight of an enemy, it again re-entered the harbour of Brest.

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In the mean time the count d'Estaing pursued his course to America; and though his voyage was tedious, yet he arrived in the middle of July in sight of the British fleet at Sandy Hook. Since the last campaign, the face of affairs in America had undergone a considerable change; general Howe had been recalled by the ministers of Great Britain, and the chief command devolved on general Clinton; that officer had deemed it prudent to evacuate Philadelphia; and general Washington, during his retreat towards New York, had pressed close upon his footsteps, and even engaged him with some advantage; but the persevering valour of the British troops, and the disobedience of general Lee, an officer of high rank in the service of the States, frustrated the hopes of Washington; and general Clinton, after a long and toilsome march, reached Navasink, in the neighbourhood of Sandy Hook; and by the fleet, still commanded by lord Howe, was conveyed to New York.

Count d'Estaing had reason deeply to regret the unfavourable winds which had prevented him from more speedily reaching the place of his destination; had he arrived a few days sooner, it is more than probable that he would have intercepted the British transports on their passage from the Delaware, escorted only by two ships of the
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line and some frigates ; these must have fallen an easy prey to his superior force. From the coast of Virginia he now steered his course towards New York, in expectation of overwhelming lord Howe in the unequal contest ; but that admiral, whose squadron was composed of only six ships of sixty-four guns, three of fifty, with some frigates and sloops, was already in possession of the harbour that is formed by Sandy Hook ; and the French commander deemed it not expedient to hazard his own large ships in the passage of the Bar.

He, therefore, immediately steered towards Rhode Island, the invasion of which he had planned in concert with the United States. While the French fleet occupied Newport harbour, and the several inlets to that island, general Sullivan, an American officer, landed on the North Point with a considerable army : they had scarce commenced their joint operations before lord Howe, reinforced by several ships from England, appeared in sight ; and count d'Estaing, unwilling to be braved by an enemy still inferior to him in strength, quitted his situation, in search of naval laurels. The two fleets contested, during the first day, the weather-gage with rival skill ; but on the second, when every thing indicated an immediate action, a violent tempest arose which
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scattered both. It was not till several days after that the French admiral was able to collect his shattered vessels; and after transiently visiting Rhode Island, he sailed to Boston to repair the damages that he had sustained.

General Sullivan, deprived of the assistance of his ally, soon after abandoned the attempt on Rhode Island; and the reader, perhaps, will not be sorry for a moment to withdraw from hostile fleets and armies, and attend the different negotiations which were carried on during their operations. Monsieur Gerard, the plenipotentiary from France, had been received by the Congress with every mark of respect and regard: but a short time previous to the appearance of that minister, commissioners from Great Britain had arrived, empowered to treat with the Congress, and effect a reconciliation between the colonies and the mother country. These commissioners were the earl of Carlisle, Mr. Eden, and governor Johnstone, with whom was joined the commander in chief, sir Henry Clinton. They proposed to consent to an immediate cessation of hostilities by sea and land; to extend every freedom to trade that the respective interests on both sides should require; to agree that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America without the consent of the

the general Congress, or of the particular assemblies; to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation; to perpetuate the common union by a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents from the different states, who should have the privilege of a seat and voice in the parliament of Great Britain; and in short, to establish the power of the respective legislatures in each particular state, to settle its revenue, its civil and military establishments, and to give to the states of North America, acting with Great Britain under one common sovereign, the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege that was short of a total separation of interest, or consistent with that union of force on which their common safety depended.

Though the Congress had been informed some days before of the favourable disposition of the court of Versailles, and had even received copies of the two treaties of alliance and commerce which had been concluded between France and the United States, yet the terms now offered by Great Britain were the object of serious deliberation; Mr. Laurens, the president of that assembly had, with the approbation of it, refused indeed a passport to the secretary of the commissioners; but the papers with which he had been charged, were
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received through a different channel, and the debates on them were resumed during six successive days; if the Congress, however, were dilatory, they were decisive in their answer. They observed, that the commission supposed the people of those states to be subjects of Great Britain, an idea that was totally inadmissible: they added; that they were still inclined to peace, notwithstanding the injuries they had suffered during the course of the war; that they were ready to enter into a treaty of commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain should demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose; but the only solid proof of that disposition would be an explicit acknowledgment of the independence of those states, and the withdrawing of his fleets and armies.

This peremptory language precluded all further hopes of negociation, and the disappointment of the commissioners was rendered still more mortifying by the reception that was immediately after given to monsieur Gerard: but their publications afforded the marquis de la Fayette another opportunity of displaying his vivacity; some expressions he conceived had fallen from the pens of the commissioners injurious to the honour of his country, and he challenged the earl of Carlisle, as chief of the commission,

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to answer for these reflections. That noble lord, however, considered the proposal as resulting from the fire of youth ; and declined to grant, in a national concern, that satisfaction which has ever been confined to personal differences.

If the fortitude of Congress in their late resolutions excited the admiration of Europe, the good faith of that assembly, in a previous transaction, had not been less severely arraigned. The army of general Burgoyne had capitulated, on the express condition that it should be allowed to return to England, but not to bear arms in America during the present war. This stipulation had been long artfully eluded ; it was now openly violated ; and when the transports for the conveyance of those troops were assembled at Rhode-Island, the Congress passed a resolution, that the soldiers not having delivered up all their accoutrements, the convention was not binding ; and continued still to detain them prisoners, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the British commanders.

From the continent of America the flame of war had been rapidly communicated to the West-India islands. The marquis of Bouille, governor-general of Martinico, was informed of the defenceless state of the island of Dominica, which on the late peace had been ceded by France to England.

England. The works had indeed been repaired and augmented by the ministers of Great-Britain ; but these, destitute of a sufficient garrison, only enhanced the value of the temptation. Under the cover of some frigates and privateers, the marquis landed unexpectedly on that island, at the head of two thousand men : he soon overpowered the handful of regulars that had been entrusted with the defence of the forts and batteries ; and in the course of the same day advanced to attack the capital of Reseau. The garrison, incapable of resistance, solicited terms of capitulation ; and the generosity of the marquis, besides allowing to the troops all the honours of war, and the liberty of retaining their arms, granted to the inhabitants the fullest security for their estates and property of every sort ; the maintenance of their rights, privileges, and immunities ; and permission to retain their civil and religious government until the conclusion of the war ; when, if the island should be ceded to France, they were left at liberty to adhere to their own political form of government, or to accept that established in the French islands.

In the same quarter France was, in her turn, soon after taught to regret the vicissitudes of war. General Clinton had detached from America a body of troops, under the command of general Grant ;

Grant; and these, in their attack on the French island of St. Lucia, were seconded by a British fleet under admiral Barrington. The chevalier de Micoud, the French commandant, with his small band of regulars and militia, were successively pushed from post to post; and his fate appeared inevitable, when his hopes were revived by the unexpected appearance of the French fleet, commanded by count d'Estaing.

That officer had diligently occupied every moment at Boston since the tempest that had separated him from lord Howe, in refitting and re-equipping his ships; he had received on board a body of land forces, amounting to near eight thousand men; and had sailed with lively expectation of overwhelming in his course all the British Leeward Islands. In his passage he received intelligence of the attempt on St. Lucia; and was not displeased at an expedition which he flattered himself would be the means of throwing an easy prey into his hands, the whole British force by land and by sea. His own fleet consisted of twelve large sail of the line, besides frigates; that of admiral Barrington, of one of seventy-four, one of seventy, one of sixty-four, two of fifty, and three frigates. Yet the French admiral could not entirely conceal his chagrin at the precautions that his adversary had taken, and the security he derived from

from his position in the harbour. He determined, however, to risk the event, in hopes that his formidable force might strike terror into the breast of the British commander; but that veteran had distinguished himself through a series of service, by steady courage and undaunted resolution; he received the attack of the count with calm intrepidity; and seconded by the batteries from the shore, in two successive days repelled the fury of the assailants. The French convinced, under these unfavourable circumstances, that no effectual impression could be made on the fleet, now directed their attempts against the land-forces. The count d'Estaing landed his troops, and marched at the head of them to attack general Medows, a British officer, who occupied a strong post on the island. Though his superior numbers might justly inspire him with the most sanguine hopes of success, yet he was compelled again to endure the mortification of defeat; the advantages that the English possessed by their situation, they maintained by their desperate valour; and the count d'Estaing, after the loss of near five hundred of his men, thought proper to retire to his ships: He soon after hoisted sail for Martinico; and the chevalier de Micoud, thus deprived of all expectations of succour, abandoned the idea of further resistance, and surrendered to the English.

In the East Indies the settlements of France were still more fatally exposed to the enterprises of her enemies: these, in the course of the last war, had been totally subdued; and though restored on the peace, were by the conditions of it left in a state of weakness and degradation. Before any public declaration of war, the English East-India Company, apprised of the disposition of the court of Versailles to vindicate the independence of America, dispatched orders to their governors to anticipate all danger in that quarter, by immediately attacking the settlements of the French. Though the preparations of the government of Madras could not escape the vigilance of Monsieur de Bellecombe, governor of Pondicherry, and commandant of all the French settlements in the Indies, yet, destitute of resources, he could only aspire to the glory of a gallant defence. Monsieur de Tronjolli, the French commodore, had indeed disputed the sovereignty of the seas, in an obstinate action with the English admiral, Sir Edward Vernon; but instead of returning to the road of Pondicherry, he steered his course for Mauritius, to repair the damages he had sustained; and Monsieur de Bellecombe, with about three thousand men, scarce one-fourth of whom were Europeans, was closely invested by general Munro, at the
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head of fifteen hundred British and nine thousand black troops, and supported by the English admiral, Sir Edward Vernon.

The fortifications of Pondicherry had in some measure emerged from the ruins in which they had been left at the conclusion of last war; but they were still feeble and incomplete; and the gallantry of the governor and resolution of the garrison alone supplied the numerous deficiencies to which they were exposed: for a month they nobly sustained the attacks of the besiegers, and protracted the hour of submission; but in that time they had lost, in killed and wounded, one fourth of their original number, and the rest were worn down by incessant fatigue. The artillery of the enemy had already made a practicable breach; and Monsieur de Bellecombe, sensible that he had used every possible exertion to preserve the settlement, determined not to involve the garrison and inhabitants in total destruction by a fruitless perseverance. On the day preceding that intended for a general assault, he proposed a capitulation, which was readily listened to by the British commanders, who, in the terms of it, gave the most honourable testimony to the gallantry of his conduct. The regiment of Pondicherry, in honour of Monsieur de Bellecombe, and at his particular request, were allowed to keep

their colours ; the European part of the garrison were to be transported to France ; and the SEA-POYS, or *black troops*, were to be disbanded in the country.

The victors, at the same time, swept away the different factories of the French in Bengal, and on the coast of Coromandel ; the English flag was erected on the walls of Chandernagore, German, Carical, and Masulipatam ; the fort of Mahie, in the dominions of Hyder Ally, and protected by the name of that prince, and the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon, strong in the number of their inhabitants and the advantages of their situation, alone defied the storm.

While France was thus stripped of her settlements in the East, the attention of her people at home was in a great measure occupied in restoring the memory of a man to whose misconduct the loss of those very settlements in the course of last war had been imputed, and who had fallen a victim to the public indignation. Count Lally, who from the original station of an adventurer, had raised himself by his valour and enterprising genius to the command of the French forces in India, after the reduction of Pondicherry by general Coote, had returned to France ; and was there pursued by the accusations of the governor and the superior council
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of Pondicherry. To his violence, extortion, and oppression, they attributed that ruin in which they had been involved; and his impetuous temper and unbridled arrogance, unhappily furnished but too much advantage to the enmity of his accusers. The parliament was authorised by the late king to proceed against him; and their report was fatal to that brave but imprudent officer. He was declared convicted of having betrayed the interests of the king and the East-India Company; and of having oppressed, with impartial rapacity, every description of persons that had sought refuge or protection within the walls of Pondicherry. He was stripped of his cross, the honorary reward of his former services; and after having received fourteen wounds in advancing the glory and interests of France, was condemned to fall by the hands of the executioner. He heard his sentence with the indignation of injured innocence; and poured forth the most violent imprecations against the malice of his accusers, and the sanguinary partiality of his judges; but in the last hour of his life he resumed, however, his wonted firmness, ascended the scaffold quietly, and received the fatal stroke without uttering a word.

But the sentence that terminated his life, could only for a time obscure his honour; and his na-

rural son, since known by the title of count Tollendal, rose to vindicate the memory and justify the fame of his father. Devoted to this pious care, renouncing the frivolous amusements of his youth, and endowed with every talent of nature and art, he applied himself to the study of the several criminal codes of Europe; he even found access to the throne; and Lewis the Fifteenth, who had been inexorable to the father, suffered himself to be moved by the virtues of the son. He extended to him the royal favour, and honoured him with his particular esteem; on the death of that monarch, count Tollendal desisted not from his unwearied assiduities; his constancy and importunities at length triumphed over the power of his opponents; the voice of justice was heard; and this year crowned his long labours with success, by the restoration of the memory of count Lally, and the disgrace of his accusers.

The same year that beheld that officer's innocence legally established, was also rendered remarkable by the death of one of his ablest and most celebrated champions. It is the lively expression of monsieur Voltaire, "*That count Lally was a man on whom every one had a right to lay his hand, except the executioner.*" But it was not permitted Voltaire to witness that justification for which

which he had combated; and that wonderful genius, who has filled so distinguished a place in the republic of letters, expired only a few days before the sentence of the count was reversed. His private character, since his death, has been attacked by those who in his life had smarted under his pen; but whatever might be his faults as a man, as an author he perhaps stands unrivalled; and the various compositions to which he has given birth, all of them entertaining, and many of them instructive, are the best monuments to perpetuate his name.

Amidst the horrors of war and the destruction of the human species, France received some satisfaction in the pregnancy of the queen; that princess, whose free and amiable manners had endeared her to her subjects, was safely delivered of a daughter; the royal infant was baptized by the name of Maria-Theresa-Charlotta; and the count of Provence, and the princess Elizabeth, represented on this occasion, as sponsors, the king of Spain and the empress-queen.

In the mean time the war raged in the western part of the world with unabated fury. Count d'Estaing, after his double repulse at St. Lucia, had retired to Martinico, from whence the British fleet, now rendered equal to him by the arrival of admiral Byron's squa-

dron, in vain endeavoured to allure him. His conduct at this moment was as cautious as it had been formerly bold and enterprising; the junction of Monsieur de Grasse with a considerable convoy made no difference in the comparative strength of the hostile fleets, since the English about the same time received a reinforcement under admiral Rowley; and the count still continued to remain inactive within the harbour; or if he ventured forth, retreated immediately on the appearance of the enemy.

At length he reaped the harvest which his perseverance had sown. Admiral Byron deemed it expedient to quit his station, and convoy to a certain latitude the trade of the British West India Islands; and the French commander was now left to turn his arms against whatever place he should think fit. St. Vincents, one of the neutral islands, and which had been ceded to England, at the conclusion of the last war, was the first object of enterprise. The count d'Estaing detached against it the Chevalier Romain, with near four hundred men; and though the garrison exceeded the number of the French, and the inhabitants had long been accustomed to war in their domestic contests with the Caribbs, yet so great was their terror, that they surrendered on the first summons, and thought themselves happy
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in obtaining the same terms as had been granted to the inhabitants of Dominica.

During this expedition count d'Estaing had been joined by monsieur de la Motte Piquet from Europe, who brought with him not only a supply of troops, but, what was at least equally necessary, of naval and military stores and provisions. Strengthened by this reinforcement, and animated by the easy acquisition of St. Vincent's, he meditated new and more important conquests. With twenty-five ships of the line, ten frigates, and near ten thousand troops, he arrived off the island of Grenada, which at that time was governed by lord Macartney, and was defended only by about one hundred and fifty regulars, and three hundred armed inhabitants, who occupied a fortified hill that commanded the fort, harbour, and capital town of St. George.

The French landed between two and three thousand regular forces, under the conduct of count Dillon ; who the next day invested the hill, and made the necessary preparations for carrying it by storm on the following night. Lord Macartney had placed great reliance on the natural and artificial strength of this post ; and the inhabitants deemed it to afford so perfect a security, as to render it a deposit for plate, jewels, and their most valuable moveables. Their resistance was
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proportioned to the booty it contained; and though count d'Estaing headed a body of the French troops in person, they were repulsed on the first onset. The superiority of their numbers were at length decisive, and they entered the lines after a hard conflict that lasted about an hour and a half: without losing a moment or even halting to recruit their wasted strength, they dragged their artillery to the top of the hill that commanded the fort; and the governor, sensible of his dangerous situation, now solicited terms of capitulation, which he had before rejected. But the favourable moment was past; and count d'Estaing would only grant such conditions, as lord Macartney and the principal inhabitants thought it better to trust to the law and customs of nations than subscribe to: they therefore submitted without any stipulations whatsoever, and abandoned themselves to the discretion of the victor.

Whatever lustre might accrue to count d'Estaing from the reduction of the island, was sullied by the severity and rapacity which he exercised over the vanquished; but he was soon summoned from the sweets of plunder to maintain his new acquisition by arms. Admiral Byron, on his return to St. Lucia, had been acquainted with the loss of St. Vincent's, and in conjunction with general

neral Grant, had concerted a plan for the recovery of that island. But while they were on their passage, they received the disagreeable intelligence of the invasion of Grenada, and they immediately changed their course in hopes of yet preserving that valuable settlement.

A signal from a battery on the island first apprised count d'Estaing of the approach of the English fleet; he immediately commanded his own to stand out to sea, and though superior in number to admiral Byron, deemed it more prudent to secure his present acquisition than to hazard it in search of fresh laurels. The English attacked with great spirit, but during the continuance of the action they were informed of the total reduction of the island of Grenada; the object of enterprise was thus at an end; their ships had suffered considerably in the engagement, and they determined to retreat to St. Christopher's; while d'Estaing, satisfied with having protected his new conquest, returned, during the night, to Grenada.

But no sooner had he regulated the government of that island than he steered for Martinico, and thence supplied with naval stores, proceeded towards St. Christopher's, and defied the English to battle; incapable of forcing them in their own harbour, and having thus retorted the insult

sult that had been formerly offered to him at Martinico, he directed his operations to a different quarter, and sailed to America to second the designs of the United States.

The southern provinces of America had, in a great measure, been exempt from those calamities which had afflicted the other parts of that continent; but towards the close of the last campaign, general Clinton had extended his views to the recovery of South-Carolina and Georgia. The chief command was vested in general Prevost, who, after experiencing some vicissitudes of fortune, gained considerable footing in the latter province, and had established his head-quarters at the town of Savannah. The United States were not inclined patiently to submit to this disgrace; but the scene of action was so remote from the centre of force and the seat of council, that the war there was in a great measure beyond their reach; and the British marine afforded such decisive advantages to the operations of their troops, in countries every where bordered by the sea and intersected by inland navigations, as could scarcely be counteracted with effect by any moderate superiority at land.

Under these considerations, they implored the support and assistance of France; and the court of Versailles, desirous of affording essential aid

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to her allies, directed count d'Estaing, as soon as he had fulfilled the objects of enterprise in the West-Indies, to hasten to America; that commander accordingly, having seen the homeward bound West-India trade clear of danger, proceeded with twenty-two ships of the line and ten frigates to that coast, in hopes not only of overwhelming the force under general Prevost, and delivering the southern colonies from apprehension, but with the intention, in conjunction with general Washington, of attacking the British troops at New York, and by one decisive stroke bringing the war on that continent to a final conclusion.

No sooner had the count arrived on the coast of America, than he was informed that general Lincoln, who commanded at Charles Town, was instructed to act in concert with him: some few days were naturally lost in adjusting the future operations of their united forces; and it was not till a week from his first appearance that he anchored off the bar of the Tybee, at the mouth of the river Savannah. The French troops were landed at Beaulieu, about thirteen miles from Savannah Town; the frigates were posted so as to secure the different inlets of the river; and the French, with the American light horse,

horse, having driven in the outposts of the enemy, count d'Estaing summoned general Prevost, the British commander, to surrender.

Though that officer had diligently employed the interval in strengthening the works of the town, he yet was in hourly expectation of being joined by a considerable detachment then absent on an expedition against South Carolina: this circumstance induced him to return an ambiguous answer; and count d'Estaing, in hopes of obtaining possession of the town without bloodshed, consented to a truce for twenty-four hours. He had soon reason to lament the address that had deceived him into this suspension of hostilities; in the short space mentioned, the expected detachment re-entered Savannah, and the answer of general Prevost announced his resolution to defend himself to the last extremity.

The French forces consisted of upwards of four thousand regular troops, and the Americans who joined their standard might swell the army of the besiegers to about seven thousand men: the British garrison that defended Savannah could scarce be estimated at three thousand; every appearance promised count d'Estaing the most rapid and brilliant success; and to augment the distress of the besieged, the allied generals

nerals refused a passage through their lines to the women and children in the town. The regular approaches that had been first determined on but ill suited the impetuosity of the French commander; he was sensible of the danger that his fleet of capital ships was exposed to, in lying without shelter upon an inhospitable coast at that critical season of the year; he observed that his batteries had produced but little effect on the British works; he was impatient to proceed in quest of new enterprises; and he relied with implicit confidence on the superiority of his force and the goodness of his troops.

These various motives induced a resolution which, had it been adopted previous to the return and junction of the British detachment to general Prevost, might have been attended with success; the works, then feeble and incomplete, were open to an assault, and would probably have been penetrated by the lively valour of the French; but they had now been strengthened by the assiduous labour of three weeks, and were covered by a numerous artillery amounting to near one hundred pieces, and directed by captain Moncrieffe, an engineer of approved and consummate skill. Yet these obstacles, though they escaped not the observation, could not extinguish the ardour of the count d'Estaing;

taing ; before the dawn of day a heavy cannonade and bombardment ushered in the attack ; the count himself in person led the flower of both armies, and was accompanied by the principal officers of each. But this enterprise was not attended with the success the gallantry of it deserved ; the allies were encountered with an obstinate resistance ; they were entangled in their approach by swampy ground ; and though they persevered in the attack with extraordinary courage, and for some hours rivalled each other in mutual acts of valour, they were at length obliged with considerable loss, to retire from the field, and yield to the advantageous position and calm intrepidity of their enemies.

This repulse entirely broke the designs of the count d'Estaing ; severely wounded himself, he lamented the fate of some of his most gallant officers who had fallen on the field : in about a week after he abandoned the unpropitious coast ; and after detaching one squadron of his fleet to St. Domingo, a second under monsieur de la Motte Piquet to Martinico, and a third under monsieur de Vaudreuil to the Chesapeake, whose presence prevented the invasion of Virginia, and retarded that of Carolina, the count himself, with the ships least fit for service, sailed for Europe.

Whatever

Whatever disappointments might have attended the arms of France in America, her negotiations in Europe afforded her ample compensation; and the court of Spain aroused from the neutrality she had hitherto observed, and disgusted with the ministers of Great Britain, who had rejected her proffered mediation, now resolved to fulfil the conditions of the celebrated family compact; and to efface the unfortunate and disgraceful events of the last war, by uniting in this the strength of the house of Bourbon, while vigorous and yet unimpaired. Her ambassador the marquis de Almadovar, after having presented a memorial to the court of St. James's, in which he declared the insults offered to his sovereign amounted exactly to one hundred, quitted London and returned to Spain.

France immediately prepared to avail herself of the present disposition of the court of Madrid; count d'Orvilliers sailed with the grand fleet from Brest, and joined that of Spain; and the combined fleets of the house of Bourbon presented to their enemies the formidable sight of sixty-six ships of the line; with this prodigious force they entered the British channel, and scattered terror and dismay throughout the coasts of that island. Admiral Hardy, who commanded the English fleet, was happy to find refuge in the friendly harbours of Great Britain; Plymouth trembled

for her safety ; and that people who had so long asserted their dominion over the seas, in their turn were taught to dread the calamities of a menaced invasion. The dread of the approaching equinoctial storms, after the capture of the *Ardent*, an English ship of the line, induced the fleets of France and Spain to separate ; but the naval campaign proved more glorious than advantageous to the former ; and a pestilential disorder which the sailors on their return communicated to their countrymen, raged for a long time throughout France with fatal fury.

To increase the embarrassments of the English, and divide their force, Spain, with a considerable army formed the siege of Gibraltar ; a fortress which, situated on a rock, and occupied by the English, had long derided the attempts, and wounded the pride of the court of Madrid. The land forces were entrusted to the command of Don Alvarez ; Don Barcello blocked up the harbour with a number of xebecques and frigates ; while Don Lewis de Cordova with twelve ships of the line was stationed near to afford support to his operations.

Amidst the fury of war Lewis displayed that regard for science which had early formed the prominent feature of his reign ; and while he poured the thunder of his arms on his enemies,

two

two ships were marked by an honourable exemption from the attempts of the fleets of France. Previous to the commencement of hostilities, the English had sent two vessels into the south seas, commanded by captains Cook and Clerke, to explore the coasts and islands of Japan and California; the return of those vessels was hourly expected in Europe; and Lewis, with a considerate humanity which reflects the brightest lustre on his character, by a circular letter to all his naval officers, commanded them to abstain from all hostilities against these ships, and to treat them as neutral vessels. The letters mentioned also in terms of the highest respect captain Cook, who had long distinguished himself in successive voyages of discovery. But death allowed not that celebrated navigator to enjoy this grateful testimony of his merit; and in one of the newly discovered islands he had already fallen a victim to the blind fury of the savage inhabitants.

Though Italy had escaped the destructive rage of war, and the sanguinary effects of ambition, yet the fertile fields of Naples were afflicted by a calamity not less fatal and more tremendous. A dreadful eruption from Mount Vesuvius, which far exceeded any that had been known in the memory of man, overwhelmed in horror and ruin the adjacent country; in the district of Ottaviano,

the habitations of twelve thousand persons were deluged or consumed by a stream of liquid fire; its fatal influence extended for above three miles; the hopes of the peasant and the wealth of the husbandman were in a moment blasted and destroyed, and the elements seemed to conspire with man in spreading misery and devastation throughout the human species.

Chapter the Forty-Third.

CONFEDERACY OF THE NORTHERN POWERS OF EUROPE—VICTORY OF ADMIRAL RODNEY OVER DON JUAN DE LANGARA—THE COMBINED SQUADRON OF FRANCE AND SPAIN CAPTURE THE ENGLISH EAST AND WEST INDIA FLEET—ACTION BETWEEN COUNT DE GUICHEN AND ADMIRAL RODNEY IN THE WEST INDIES—CAMPAIGN IN AMERICA—EXPEDITION OF THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE AGAINST CANADA, DISCONCERTED BY THE RETURN OF COUNT DE GUICHEN TO EUROPE—HURRICANE IN THE WEST INDIES—ENGLAND DECLARES WAR WITH HOLLAND—DISMISSAL OF MONSIEUR SARTINE—ATTEMPT ON JERSEY—REDUCTION OF TOBAGO—MONSIEUR DE GRASSE SAILS TO AMERICA—CAPTURE OF THE BRITISH ARMY UNDER LORD CORNWALLIS—PENSACOLA REDUCED BY THE SPANIARDS—MONSIEUR SUFFREIN SAILS TO THE EAST INDIES—ENGAGEMENT WITH COMMO-

DORE JOHNSTONE AT ST. JAGO—HYDER ALLY
 ATTACKS THE ENGLISH SETTLEMENTS IN THE
 EAST—LOSSES OF THE DUTCH IN THAT QUAR-
 TER—ACTION OFF THE DOGGER BANK—DIS-
 MISSAL OF MONSIEUR NECKER—BIRTH OF
 THE DAUPHIN.

A. D. 1780. **T**HE public opinion that had raised
 monsieur Necker to the observation
 and favour of his sovereign, still continued to fol-
 low him; and his talents were assiduously em-
 ployed to merit applause. Under his direction a
 general reform took place throughout every de-
 partment of the revenue; the people, instead of
 being burthened with new taxes, beheld the pub-
 lic income augmented by the œconomy and im-
 provements that were introduced into the ma-
 nagement of the finances; a variety of unneces-
 sary offices in the household of the king and queen
 were abolished, and other important regulations
 adopted for the ease of the subject and the gene-
 ral benefit of the kingdom.

The zeal and industry of the director general
 of the finances were rivalled by the address of the
 ministers of France at the different courts of Eu-
 rope. The emperor of Germany and the king
 of

of Prussia after a short trial of each others strength, had agreed to sheath the sword; but they continued still agitated with mutual jealousy, and still maintained on foot the same armies as if in a state of actual hostility. But if the reciprocal suspicions of these rival courts diverted their attention from the neighbouring belligerent powers, the situation of Russia allowed her to contemplate at leisure what advantages she might derive from the general state of affairs. That empire at no time had appeared more formidable; and the success of her arms in the last war against the Ottoman Porte, had received additional lustre from the acquiescence of the divan in the conditions she had dictated with respect to the Crimea. A long and intimate connection had subsisted between the courts of Petersburg and London: and should the myriads of Russia be added to the wealth of England, Lewis was sensible that the house of Bourbon must have sunk in the unequal contest.

The French ambassador at the court of Petersburg was therefore instructed at this critical juncture to conciliate the inclinations of the empress, by every compliance that the honour of his country would permit; and the fears of France were soon extinguished by a manifesto as favourable to the views of the court of Versailles,

as it was unpropitious to those of St. James's. The jealousy that had been excited by the former ascendancy of Great Britain, and the dominion that she had attained on the sea, had even extended to, and been nourished by, the most distant powers of the north; the empress of Russia embraced the favourable opportunity to emancipate her commerce from the controul of those haughty islanders; and was readily persuaded by the ambassador of France to place herself at the head of a confederacy formed of her northern neighbours. She accordingly addressed a declaration to the courts of London, Versailles, and Madrid, in which, after dwelling on the justice and moderation of which she had given such convincing proofs in the course of her war with the Ottoman Porte, and the strict regard that she had always shewn for the rights of neutrality and of commerce in general, she lamented that her example had not been permitted to influence the present belligerent powers, but that her subjects had been precluded from enjoying peaceably the fruits of their industry, and the advantages belonging to neutral nations; that they had been molested in their navigation, and retarded in their operations by the ships and privateers of the contending sovereigns; and that she found herself, with concern, under the necessity of removing those

those vexations which were offered to the commerce of Russia in particular, and to that of Europe in general, by all the means compatible with her dignity and with the welfare of her subjects.

She proceeded to demand that neutral ships should enjoy a free navigation, even from port to port, and on the coasts of the belligerent powers; that all effects belonging to the belligerent powers should be looked upon as free on board such neutral ships, excepting only those goods as were stipulated contraband, as arms, ammunition, and warlike stores; that if any such were found, beyond what might properly appertain to the ship's crew or passengers, they might be seized and confiscated according to law; but neither the vessels, passengers, or the rest of the goods were to be detained for that reason, or hindered from pursuing their voyage; that these principles were to serve as rules in the judicial proceedings and sentences upon the legality of prizes; and her imperial majesty declared, to render them still more respected, and to protect the honour of her flag, she had given orders to fit out a considerable naval force. The kings of Denmark and Sweden immediately acceded to the language and declarations of the empress of Russia; the states general of the United Provinces, after that delay that always prevails in the deliberations of the republic,

lic, followed their example; and this formidable confederacy assumed the title of the armed neutrality, and engaged to make a common cause of it at sea, against any of the powers that should violate the principles which had been laid down in the memorial of the empress of Russia.

The answer of the king of France proclaimed how acceptable the nature of that memorial was to the court of Versailles. He declared what her imperial majesty claimed from the belligerent powers, was nothing else than the rules prescribed to the French navy; the execution of which was maintained with an exactness known and applauded by all Europe. He expressed his approbation of the principles and views of the empress; and asserted, that from the measures she had now adopted, solid advantages would undoubtedly result not only to her subjects but also to all nations.

Whilst France by her intrigues secured the friendship of the north, she suffered a deep and fatal wound in the calamity of her kindred ally. A Spanish squadron, of eleven ships of the line and two frigates, cruising near Cape Saint Vincent, under the command of Don Juan de Langara, was surrounded by the English fleet under admiral Rodney, then proceeding to the relief of Gibraltar. The Spaniards for a long time maintained the conflict with great gallantry; but they
were

were at length forced to yield to the superior numbers of their enemies. The *Saint Domingo*, a Spanish ship of seventy guns and six hundred men, was blown up in the action. The admiral's ship, the *Phœnix* of eighty guns, with four more ships of the line, were taken; another of the same rate was driven on shore and destroyed; and the shattered remnant escaped with difficulty the pursuit of the victors. Admiral Rodney immediately after pursued his course to Gibraltar, relieved the garrison of that fortress, repassed the Streights, and steered in triumph to the West-Indies; after detaching admiral Digby with his prizes and part of his squadron to Great Britain, who on his passage fell in with and captured the *Prothée*, a French man of war of sixty-four guns.

This was not the only disaster that arose from the persevering attachment of Spain to the siege of Gibraltar. The naval preparations of France had been continued during the winter at an expence that bordered on profusion; and the united fleets of the house of Bourbon might have established their sovereignty in the Channel, and once more insulted the coasts of Great Britain; but Spain, occupied in fruitless attempts on that fatal rock, suffered the moment for their junction to elapse; the fleet of France was confined to her
harbours

harbours by the superior force of Great Britain, whose naval armaments she was not able to encounter singly. Admiral Geary, with the English fleet, continued vigilantly to observe their motions; and the *Artois*, the *Capricieuse*, the *Nymphé*, and the *Belle Poule*, were successively taken by British cruizers. The chevalier de Kergarion, who commanded the latter, distinguished himself by a bloody and gallant resistance. Though the ship that attacked him mounted sixty-four guns, and the *Belle Poule* carried only thirty-two, he maintained the combat with undaunted resolution; mortally wounded, he continued to exclaim, "Courage, my children, courage!" and expired while he yet endeavoured to animate by his expression and example his faithful crew. On his death the command devolved on his first lieutenant M. la Motte Tabourell, who defended the *Belle Poule*, with similar resolution, for three quarters of an hour. He then reluctantly struck his flag, as it was impossible any longer to keep the ship from sinking, had the engagement been continued. Six feet water were in the hold, sixteen shot in the body of the ship, the masts and yards broken, the sails and rigging cut to pieces, the captain and twenty-four men killed, and the second captain, with fifty men wounded. The chevalier du Remain, in the *Nymphé*, had defended

fended himself with similar courage; equal in force to the English ship, he only yielded to her superior fortune; before the colours of the *Nymph* were struck, two thirds of her crew were killed and wounded; and among the former was the chevalier du Remain himself.

The French ships of war, impatient of the delay of the Spaniards, had escaped from Brest in small divisions, and rendezvoused at Cadiz. There they had joined the fleet of Spain, and once more united, were occupied in cruising off Cape St. Vincent, when fortune seemed inclined to compensate for their former disappointments. A rich and considerable convoy for the East and West Indies, under the protection of one ship of the line and two frigates, had sailed from England; and Don Lewis de Cordova, who commanded the combined squadrons, was agreeably surprised with the sight of this invaluable and defenceless fleet. A signal was made for a general chase; the men of war escaped by their superior sailing; but five East-India men, and fifty vessels bound to the West Indies, were taken and carried into Cadiz; the former, besides arms and ammunition, with a train of artillery, conveyed naval stores for the supply of the British squadron in that quarter; and the latter contained tents and camp equipage for the troops designed for active service in the

Leeward

Leeward islands; but the most irreparable loss to Great Britain were fifteen hundred and twenty seamen, and twelve hundred and fifty-five soldiers, who became by that event the captives of the house of Bourbon.

In the West Indies Monsieur de la Motte Piquet, with four ships of the line, attacked a squadron of the English under commodore Cornwallis; the latter, during the action, was joined by another ship of the line, which rendered their force more equal to the encounter; and monsieur de la Motte, having received already considerable damage, and impatient to join the grand fleet, bore away for Cape François. Thé count de Guichen had sailed from Brest to supply the place of count d'Estaing; the fleet under his command, when united, consisted of twenty-three ships of the line, besides frigates; and soon after he fell in with admiral Rodney and twenty ships of the line. An engagement ensued, long, obstinate, and indecisive. The French retired to refit to Guadaloupe, and the English, resolute to renew the action, cruized off the island of Martinico.

The count de Guichen, whose gallantry in the last engagement had extorted the admiration of his adversaries, was not disposed to suffer the British fleet to insult by their presence a settlement belonging to France. On intelligence of the station

tion of admiral Rodney, he quitted Guadaloupe, and steered to meet the rival of his glory. But the engagement did not commence till evening, and night soon after separated the combatants. A third encounter was equally partial and indecisive; and count de Guichen soon after joined a Spanish squadron, which, though it gave him a decided superiority, yet refused to concur in any attack on the settlements of the English; the French commander, by the superfluous caution of his colleague, thus rendered incapable of availing himself of his immediate strength, seized the opportunity to escort the homeward-bound trade towards Europe; the sickly state of his men induced him to continue his voyage, and he conducted his wealthy convoy in safety to Cadiz; there he was joined by the count d'Estaing, who assumed the chief command; the fleet of France by this union was swelled to thirty six ships of the line; but the ships themselves were foul and out of repair, and the feeble condition of the crews has already been noticed. Under these circumstances, and incumbered by the protection of his convoy, though count d'Estaing on his passage fell in with the English fleet under admiral Darby, consisting of only twenty-two ships of the line, yet he deemed it unadvisable to hazard

zard an engagement, and pursued his course to the ports of France.

The repulse of count d'Estaing at Savannah had revived the hopes of the British commanders in America; they now aspired to the final reduction of the southern colonies, and the inclemency of winter was not permitted to suspend their hostile operations. At the close of the last year, general Clinton set sail from New York with a considerable body of troops for the attack of Charlestown, the capital of South Carolina; he was escorted and supported by a British fleet commanded by admiral Arbuthnot; after a tedious voyage they reached Savannah, and having refreshed the troops and repaired the damages the fleet had sustained, in the middle of March they arrived within sight of the place of their destination.

Though the Americans were not ignorant of the intentions of the British commander, yet the forces in Charlestown, including every description, scarce amounted to six thousand men, and were by no means equal to the extent of the works; many of these also were but little accustomed to military service, and very ill provided with cloathes and other necessaries. This omission was not to be attributed to the supineness of Congress,

Congress, but to the nature of their military establishment; the men in general enlisted but for a single campaign, and on the approach of winter were impatient to return to their farms or families; it was this very circumstance that probably induced general Clinton to engage in the expedition at the particular season when he knew the United States were least capable of affording succour to the besieged; but though general Lincoln was sensible of the difficulties that he was exposed to, yet he rejected the terms of capitulation that were offered by the British commander, and prepared to discharge the trust reposed in him with fidelity and honour.

But personal courage could not alone supply the deficiency of every other requisite for a successful defence; and general Lincoln beheld with regret, while his own hopes diminished, the strength of the enemy increase. A detachment from the British ships possessed themselves of Sullivan's Island, which from its situation might greatly incommode the garrison; a body of cavalry that had been collected in the adjacent country for the support of the besieged, was routed and totally dispersed; in the progress of a month, the approaches of the besiegers had been successfully advanced; and general Lincoln, unwilling by a fruitless perseverance to involve

the town and inhabitants in certain destruction, resumed the negociation that had been broken off, and subscribed the terms of capitulation; these preserved to the inhabitants their lives and property; the militia were permitted to retire to their respective homes; but the regulars of the American army were to remain prisoners of war until exchanged.

The danger and loss of Charles Town had excited a considerable alarm throughout America; the United States had solicited in the strongest terms the support of France; and Lewis attentive, to the interests of his allies, detached in the beginning of May from Brest the count of Rochambeau with twelve thousand select troops, and the chevalier de Ternay with seven ships of the line and several frigates. These arrived about the middle of June at Rhode Island, which, during the course of last year had been evacuated by the British, and now acknowledged the authority of the United States.

Count Rochambeau was received by the Americans with every mark of cordial esteem; a committee from the general assembly of Rhode Island was appointed to congratulate him on his arrival; and their satisfaction was not diminished by the declaration of the French commander, that his sovereign would never sheath the sword until the independ-

independence of America was acknowledged; that the troops he had brought over were only the van guard of a much greater force that was destined to their aid; and that the king had ordered him to assure them that his whole power should be exerted for their support; he added, that the French troops were under the strictest discipline; and acting under the orders of general Washington, would live with the Americans as their brethren.

The United States allotted Rhode Island to their allies as a place of arms; and count Rochambeau, while he waited the promised reinforcement, diligently employed his troops in repairing and augmenting the works on the island. He had soon after reason to congratulate himself on this precaution. General Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, returned from the reduction of Charles Town to New York, formed a plan of attack against the French fleet and army; but their designs could not elude the penetration of general Washington; he rapidly crossed the North River with twelve thousand men; and general Clinton perceiving the danger to which his absence must expose New York, relinquished his attempt against Rhode Island.

The marquis de la Fayette, who had been so much distinguished by the early part that he

took in the American cause, long before the court of Versailles had thought it prudent to avow their inclination, returned from his native country, to which he had paid a transient visit, to join again the standard of freedom. His early engagement, and great zeal and activity in the service of the United States, rendered him peculiarly acceptable to general Washington; and the commendations of that commander were productive of the most flattering attentions from congress to the marquis.

But the visit of that nobleman to Philadelphia, where the congress had again established their residence, was principally to concert and adjust the plan for the rest of the campaign. He, as well as count Rochambeau, held forth assurances of the most powerful support from France; it was expected that monsieur de Guichen from the West India islands would steer his course to America; that he would join the fresh ships of monsieur Ternay; and that the grand army under general Washington being also reinforced by the troops of Rochambeau, an attack by sea and land might be made on the British troops at New York, with such a superiority of force as must have ensured success; the reduction of lord Cornwallis's detachment to the southward must naturally have ensued; and the marquis de la Fayette

Fayette was to have proceeded with a considerable army on a winter expedition against Canada.

In expectation of these events, the marquis de la Fayette published a preparatory memorial addressed to the French Canadians, and calling upon them by all the ancient ties of allegiance, blood, religion, and country, as well as by the natural desire of recovering their freedom, to be ready to join and assist him; and holding out all the severities of war, and all the terrors of military execution, to those, if any such there were, who, blindly perverse to their own interests, and forgetful of all those ties and duties, should in any manner oppose the arms or impede the generous designs of their deliverers; but when Washington had recruited his army with such diligence as to have swelled it to twenty thousand men, the whole project was disconcerted by a circumstance that has been already related; and the count de Guichen, in proceeding with his fleet to Europe, exposed the Americans to as severe a disappointment as any they had experienced during the course of the war.

This conduct of monsieur de Guichen, however fatal to the splendid prospects of the allies of France, was sufficiently justified by the bad state of his ships when he arrived at Cadiz; and his departure from the West Indies preserved him

from the calamities in which those islands were soon after involved. A hurricane, the fury of which exceeded any thing that ever was known or can be conceived, swept throughout that quarter of the world, the seas and land, with wild and undistinguished rage. At Martinico the beautiful town of St. Pierre, built upon the shore, was entirely overwhelmed and washed away; the town of Basse-terre in Guadaloupe shared the same fate; sixty sail of transports from France, that had arrived that morning at Martinico, with stores, and two thousand five hundred troops on board, were driven out to sea, and almost all swallowed up by that ungovernable element. The Experiment of fifty guns, with the Juno of forty, and several other French frigates, were entirely lost. Grenada and St. Vincent's equally presented a scene of desolation; and in the latter not a single house was capable of withstanding the fury of the tempest. The British settlements and marine suffered also proportionably; Jamaica, Barbadoes, and St. Lucia were the principal victims to its rage; admiral Rodney, with eleven ships of the line, had fortunately proceeded to the coast of America; but the Andromeda and Laurel, British frigates, were both wrecked on the coast of Martinico. The humanity of the marquis de Bouille, governor general of the French West India islands,

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on this occasion shone forth with distinguished lustre; thirty-one English sailors, the scanty remnant that was saved from the crews of the *Andromeda* and *Laurel*, were sent by that commander under a flag of truce to the British commodore at St. Lucia. The marquis declared in the letter that accompanied them, that he could not consider in the light of enemies, men who had so hardly escaped in a contention with the force of the elements; he only lamented that their number was so small, and that none of the officers had been saved.

By the expedition of admiral Rodney to America, he had eluded the destructive rage of that tempest which desolated the West India islands; but his continuance on the American coast was of short duration; and informed that the count de Guichen had proceeded for Europe, he himself soon after returned to Barbadoes. In the mean time the hostile armies in the neighbourhood of New York continued vigilantly to observe each other's motions. But while the British commander appeared sunk in supineness, he meditated a deep and dark scheme, which could it have taken effect in its full extent, would probably have brought the war to a final conclusion, and for ever have extinguished the independence of America.

In the course of the war we have already noticed the early attack on Quebec, in which the courage and conduct of general Arnold had been displayed to the highest advantage; the reputation he had acquired there, he continued to maintain by a series of bold and enterprising exertions; and the final capture of the British army under general Burgoyne, was in a great measure attributed to his counsels and gallant example. As a reward, congress had bestowed on him the government of Philadelphia; but the affections of his countrymen accompanied him not in that peaceful occupation; his profusion had plunged him into distresses from which he endeavoured to extricate himself by the oppression of the inhabitants of Philadelphia; their complaints exposed him to the judgment of a court martial; that court declared his conduct highly reprehensible, and ordered that he should be reprimanded by general Washington. This censure first alienated his mind from the United States; and though soon after he was taken into actual service, and appointed to a principal command under general Washington, his pecuniary embarrassments, or resentments triumphed over his fidelity, and he entered into a close correspondence with the enemies of his country.

The American commander had stationed his
army

army for the winter on both sides of the North River; and the important post of West Point, with its neighbouring dependencies, and a considerable division of the army, were entrusted to general Arnold. That officer had agreed to make such a division of the wing under his command as would enable general Clinton completely to surprise them; and the English troops once admitted within the lines, might have availed themselves of the rout and confusion, to the total destruction of the whole army. The loss of their only disciplined force, with most, if not all, of their experienced officers, must have blasted for ever the infant greatness of the United States.

From this melancholy catastrophe they were preserved by the fidelity of three young men, educated in the humblest walks of life, and who nobly disdained to betray their trust, though tempted by the most fascinating offers. To adjust the plan of attack with general Arnold, major André, adjutant general to the British army, had accepted the perilous commission of entering the American lines. When there, he had been persuaded by the caution of Arnold to lay aside his regimentals, assume a private dress, and return with a passport under the feigned name of Anderson; under that name he had already eluded the different guards and posts of the camps,

when

when at a small distance from the British lines he was stopped by three young volunteers; these, notwithstanding his passport, insisted on examining him more strictly; and the major, whose ingenuous disposition but ill fitted him for deception, increased their suspicions by endeavouring to purchase his freedom with his purse and watch; to these he added offers of permanent provision and future promotion, on condition of their accompanying him to New York; but the Americans were proof to the allurements of affluence and ambition, and they insisted on conducting him to their commanding officer.

Some delay in his examination allowed general Arnold to be apprized of his misfortune before his own connection with the prisoner was discovered. He immediately abandoned his quarters, and escaped to the protection of the British lines; but the unhappy major André fell the victim of the fatal project. Fourteen general officers were appointed by the American commander to determine on his case, and the punishment that ought to be inflicted; among these was the marquis de la Fayette; and the board, with the regret that was excited by the frank and noble demeanour of the prisoner, pronounced that he ought to be considered as a spy from the enemy, and agreeable to the laws of nations ought to suffer death.

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The repeated applications of general Clinton, to avert the stroke of justice were in vain; but the last hours of the unfortunate victim were soothed by every mark of respect and even of regard; and the execution of the sentence was accompanied by the tears of the very judges who had pronounced it.

But though the vigilance of general Washington guarded against the dangerous effects which were to be apprehended from Arnold's treachery, he found still greater difficulties to encounter in the universal distress that reigned throughout the provinces. The troops under his command, destitute of cloathing of every kind, could not be restrained from giving open vent to their discontents; they were again soothed into obedience by the address of their commander, and by the promises that were held out of liberal support from France.

The events of the campaign, though by no means adverse, had not answered the sanguine expectations of the court of Versailles, and those advantages which the ministers of France expected to derive from the united force of the house of Bourbon. But that confederacy acquired new strength by the presumption of their enemy; and Great Britain having, by the capture of an American packet, obtained possession of a treaty of amity

amity and commerce between the republic of Holland and the United States of America, gave loofe to her indignation, and at the clofe of the year commenced hoftilities againft the Dutch ; a meafure which was received at Paris with open exultation, and which neceffarily threw that republic into the arms of France.

During the operations of the contending fleets and armies, fome changes had taken place among the minifters of France. Monfieur Bertin had refigned the office of fecretary of ftate. The prince de Montbarey had retired from the poft of fecretary at war, and was fucceeded by the marquis de Segur ; but the moft important removal was that of monfieur Sartine, who had for five years prefided over the marine department ; and whole unwearied application and ability had raifed the naval power of France to a height that aftonifhed Europe ; but his colleagues in the-cabinet loudly accufed a profufion, which would have diverted into one channel the whole refources of the kingdom ; the extent of his projects, and the expence of the armaments he fuggested, were by no means confiftent with the fevere œconomy that characterifed the comptroller general of the finances ; and his retreat opened a road to the ambition of the marquis de Caftries, who was appointed

pointed in his place to the department of the marine.

Whatever alteration Lewis might make in his ministers, his own disposition remained the same, and his mind was incessantly employed in augmenting the happiness of his subjects. He fixed on the anniversary of his birth day to render it memorable by a new instance of humanity ; and he abolished for ever the inhuman custom of *putting the question*, as it was called, by torture ; a custom which had been so established and rivetted by the practice and concurrence of ages, that it seemed to be an indivisible part of the constitution of the courts of justice of France. At the same time, to defray the expences of war, he continued to diminish his own expenditure ; and sacrificing his magnificence to the ease of his subjects, dismissed at once no less than four hundred and six officers belonging to his court.

It was indeed alone by the most
rigid œconomy that France was able A. D. 1781.
to supply the demands for the distant and various warfare in which she had engaged. The councils of Spain were still marked by that imbecility which for near a century had characterised them ; and Holland, naturally slow in her deliberations, long refused to war, and surprised into hostilities, at first required, rather than imparted support
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to her allies; in Europe, in America, the West Indies, and the East, the burthen was to be borne by France; and though she could not but severely feel the incessant weight, yet her preparations still kept pace with the extent of the service.

In the commencement of the campaign the baron de Rullecourt, with a small band of adventurers, had meditated an attack on the island of Jersey; he embraced the opportunity of a favourable wind, and in the night traversed the sea which separates that island from France; he landed his men at dawn of day, and his first success seemed to sanction the temerity of the enterprise. The lieutenant-governor, with the principal inhabitants, were surprised, and in the moment of astonishment signed a capitulation; but the major part of the garrison refused to accede to the conditions; their numbers were swelled by the natives who had recovered from their first panic; and the detachment of the baron de Rullecourt was encompassed and assailed on every side. The baron himself fell gallantly fighting at the head of his faithful adherents, the greater part of the French were either cut to pieces or taken prisoners, and a few only with better fortune regained their vessels, and escaped to the coast of Normandy with the melancholy intelligence of the fate of their companions.

Towards

Towards the latter end of June the fleet of France, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, under the command of the count de Guichen, quitted Brest, and joined the fleet of Spain at Cadiz. The united squadrons, which presented the formidable spectacle of fifty ships of the line, steered south-east, and detached two ships of the line, with several frigates, to escort the duke de Crillon and a considerable body of land forces to Minorca; the invasion of which island had been determined on by the courts of Versailles and Madrid. After performing this service, the combined naval strength of the house of Bourbon directed their course towards the English coasts; admiral Darby, with the British fleet of twenty-three ships of the line, hastily retired before them into the friendly harbour of Torbay; but the elements warred in favour of the English; a violent tempest dispersed the united fleets, and compelled each of them to seek shelter from its fury in their own ports.

The French availed themselves of their superiority at sea, to reinforce the duke de Crillon in his attack on Minorca, with several veteran regiments, under the command of the baron de Falkenheyn; but it was in the West Indies and America that their principal efforts were directed. Towards the end of March monsieur de Grasse, with

with twenty ships of the line, one of fifty-four guns, and several frigates, with six thousand land forces, sailed from Brest for Martinico. Off Fort Royal he discerned the British fleet of seventeen sail of the line commanded by admiral Hood. The convoy with which monsieur de Grasse was encumbered, compelled him at first to prepare for action with caution; but four ships of the line having eluded the endeavours of the British admiral, and joined the French from Fort Royal, he now determined to avail himself of this decided superiority, and to bring on a general engagement. In the mean time the English had been reinforced also by a ship of seventy-four guns, and their commander displayed admirable skill in his manœuvres; yet the advantages of the French were numerous and evident, and a conflict of three hours was only terminated by night. On the return of day monsieur de Grasse would have renewed the engagement; but the English, who had suffered severely, bore away to Antigua; they were pursued by the French, who, incapable of forcing them under the batteries of that island, directed their operations to the reduction of the British settlements.

In the beginning of the war France had been severely mortified by the loss of St. Lucia, and she now aspired to the recovery of that island;
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great part of the English garrison had been drafted away for the capture of St. Eustatius, a wealthy settlement belonging to the Dutch; and while the captors revelled in their spoils, the marquis de Bouille, whose enterprising genius had already been repeatedly displayed, with the viscount Damas, and a considerable body of troops, landed on St. Lucia. They immediately occupied the town of Gros Islet, and summoned brigadier general St. Leger, the commanding officer, to surrender; but the marquis was soon convinced that the strength of the English far exceeded what the natives, impatient to return under the government of France, had described; a greater object, and less difficult of access, was in view; and the French commander having disguised his intentions from the enemy by every preparation for a vigorous assault, suddenly reembarked his troops in the night, and steered his course towards Tobago.

Against that island he had previously detached a small French squadron, with a considerable body of troops, under the conduct of monsieur de Blanchelande, late governor of St. Vincent's. The feeble garrison of Tobago, scarce amounting to five hundred men, gradually retired before the invaders to Concordia, a high ground, naturally strong, and which commands a view of both sides

of the island. They were there invested by monsieur de Blanchelande ; and the marquis de Bouille, soon after arriving with the fleet of France, assumed the supreme command.

Though that nobleman was possessed of such a superiority in the number of his troops, yet the resistance of the garrison of Tobago was long and obstinate ; during six days in the post of Concordia they maintained an undaunted countenance ; and when the French had occupied the adjacent hills, which in some measure commanded the post, the English on a sudden quitted it, and retreated to another station almost equally strong, and at a considerable distance.

But these efforts, though they protracted, could not avert the final submission of the island ; the ardour of the marquis de Bouille was increased by the difficulties that successively arose ; under a burning sun, he in person conducted his troops through the most intricate passages of the island ; to unite terror to force he reduced to ashes two of the neighbouring and most capital plantations ; a squadron that had been dispatched by admiral Rodney to the relief of Tobago, had been chased, and with difficulty escaped the pursuit of the French fleet ; and the inhabitants, hopeless of succour, at length consented to surrender. The marquis, instead of being irritated by the obstacles

stacles their perseverance had presented, displayed an example of generosity for all other successful commanders, and granted to the vanquished the same favourable conditions as had been extended to the inhabitants of Dominica.

Tobago had scarce submitted to the dominion of France, before the British fleet, under admiral Rodney, appeared in sight. Monsieur de Grasse immediately got under sail, and offered his rival battle; the English, informed of the total loss of the island, the relief of which was most probably their sole object, thought proper to decline the encounter; and the French admiral, instead of consuming his hours in a fruitless pursuit, reconveyed the marquis de Bouille to Martinico, touched at the Havannah to receive a considerable supply of money, and with twenty-eight sail of the line and several frigates directed his course towards America, and anchored in the Chesapeake the last day of August.

From the desertion of general Arnold, the principal army of the Americans under general Washington had remained in a state of inaction within their lines near New York, and were content with vigilantly observing the British commander at that place, who seemed satisfied with maintaining his ground, without attempting to extend his limits. The French under count Rochambeau, inca-

pable of undertaking any important enterprise alone, had diligently employed themselves in strengthening the fortifications of Rhode Island. But the war that languished in this quarter, was revived with increase of fury in the southern provinces. In South and North Carolina, and Virginia, a variety of obstinate and indecisive engagements had taken place between the generals Gates, Greene, and Sumpter, in the service of the United States; and the lords Cornwallis and Rawdon, who commanded the British forces. At Camden general Gates had suffered a severe defeat from an inferior army under lord Cornwallis; and though that nobleman had afterwards in his turn reason to lament the vicissitudes of war, and was mortified by the total destruction of several detachments, yet a second victory that he obtained at Guildford, in North Carolina, over general Greene, had confirmed his reputation, and extended the terror of his arms throughout the adjacent country.

The ministers of Great Britain had early entertained an opinion that seems to have accompanied them throughout the course of the whole war; and the idea that the greatest part of the Americans were still inclined to submit to the ancient form of government, was industriously inculcated in England; where it was necessary to deceive the
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the people into the pecuniary grants requisite for the continuance of hostilities; but the fallacy of this opinion was sufficiently exposed by the victories of lord Cornwallis; even after the splendid action of Guildford, the friends that joined the British standard were few, and inconsiderable in point of consequence; and the victorious commander was soon obliged to abandon the scene of his triumph, and consult his safety by a precipitate retreat into the province of Virginia.

The English had some time before detached their new convert, Arnold, to invade that country which, intersected with wide and navigable rivers, afforded a proper theatre for their naval exertions, and which had largely contributed from its flourishing plantations to furnish the resources of Congress. The ardour of that officer, in the cause he had lately espoused, was not inferior to that which he had formerly displayed in the service of the United States. His ravages soon drew the attention of general Washington; and the marquis de la Fayette was detached with a small but select corps to observe his motions and harass his rear. The French at Rhode Island also thought that a proper opportunity offered of atoning for their former inactivity; and that they might render a most effectual service to their allies, by cutting off the retreat of Arnold and his party from

the Chesapeake. To reconnoitre that bay they dispatched a ship of the line and some frigates; this small squadron in its course fell in with and captured the *Romulus*, a British man of war of forty-four guns; and soon after count Rochambeau having embarked the land forces, with the French fleet under monsieur Ternay, sailed from Rhode Island.

A dreadful tempest had driven the English fleet from its station before that island; but monsieur Ternay had scarce made Cape Henry, before he was disagreeably surpris'd by the appearance of the British squadron under admiral Graves; an action immediately ensued, which though indecisive, and attended with no particular loss on either side, yet so far disabled the French ships, as to render it prudent to return to Rhode Island, and disconcerted the sanguine hopes they had formed of affording their allies the most essential assistance.

In the interval general Clinton had strongly reinforced the detachment in Virginia, and nominated to the chief command of it general Phillips, an officer of approved abilities. The inferiority of the marquis de la Fayette allowed him only to observe the motions of the enemy, and while he remained on the opposite-side of James River,

River, he witnessed with indignation those devastations which he was too weak to restrain.

It was at this critical juncture, when general Phillips had just fallen a victim to the heat of the climate, and the fatigues he had endured in a toilsome and desultory war, that lord Cornwallis, unable any longer to subsist in the exhausted province of Carolina, directed his attention to Virginia; with his way-worn army he traversed a hostile country of above three hundred miles, and arrived at Petersburg a few days after general Phillips had breathed his last. He immediately assumed the chief command, was reinforced by about two thousand infantry from New York, and displayed that active vigour, the prominent feature of his character. He completed the devastation which had been left unfinished by Arnold, pushed his success as far as Williamsburgh, the capital of Virginia, on his retreat defeated a considerable corps which the marquis de la Fayette had pressed forward to impede his passage of James River, and established his place at arms at York Town, situated on the banks of the river of that name, and which, as it was navigable for ships of great size and burthen, enabled him to receive any succours or support by sea.

This post, which at least promised security, lord Cornwallis diligently applied himself to fortify;

tify : but the hour was now rapidly approaching, destined to terminate the successful career of that commander, and by a decisive blow finally to establish the independence of America. By a series of the most artful addresses, general Washington had deceived his antagonist Clinton ; count de Rochambeau had passed over from Rhode Island ; and in conjunction with the American army, menaced New York with an immediate attack ; that post, with its dependencies, was kept in a continual state of alarm for above six weeks ; when the combined army of French and Americans rapidly traversed the Jerseys, crossed the Delaware, passed through Philadelphia, and arrived at the head of the river Elk, at the bottom of the Chesapeake.

On the same day monsieur de Grasse, with his fleet from the West Indies, arrived also in the bay, where, after blocking up York river, he instantly applied himself to secure the river James, which he occupied with his armed vessels and his cruisers to a considerable distance ; by this manœuvre he not only precluded lord Cornwallis from any retreat to the Carolinas, but also was enabled to convey in security the marquis de Saint Simon, with three thousand three hundred land forces from the West Indies, eighteen leagues up that river, where he formed a junction with the marquis

quis de la Fayette, who had already been reinforced by general Wayne, and the succours from Pennsylvania.

The fleet of monsieur de Grasse consisted of twenty-four ships of the line; and the approach of a British squadron of nineteen ships of the line under the admirals Graves and Hood, might rather have furnished matter of exultation than dread; but the operations of monsieur de Grasse chiefly tended to the reduction of lord Cornwallis's army at York Town; he expected every hour to be joined by the squadron from Rhode Island, commanded since the death of monsieur Ternay, by monsieur de Barras, whom he knew had already sailed with several transports, and a train of artillery for the siege of York Town, and fifteen hundred of his seamen were still employed in transporting the French troops up James River. Under these circumstances he considered it as unadvisable to hazard much; and though he stood out to sea, and engaged the English fleet, he was satisfied with maintaining the honour of the flag of France; and without attempting to improve his advantage, he retired to his former station in Chesapeake bay, where he was soon after strengthened by the arrival of monsieur de Barras.

The united forces of France and America now diligently proceeded closely to invest lord Cornwallis,

wallis, who with seven thousand select troops still occupied York Town. The count de Rochambeau, and the marquis de la Fayette, with an equal number of French, extended from the river above the town to a morass in the center, where they were met by the Americans under Washington, who occupied the opposite side from the river to that spot. Monsieur de Grassé was entirely master of Chesapeake bay; and the duke de Lauzun with his legion, and a body of Virginia militia under general Wieden, already pressed the British post at Gloucester Point, which was defended by colonel Tarleton with about six hundred infantry and cavalry.

Thus having surrounded their prey on every quarter, the different commanders began to urge their attacks with a vivacity that precluded every hope of relief; the works of the English were penetrated by an hundred pieces of heavy ordnance; their defences were in many places ruined; and most of their guns were silenced; two redoubts still incommoded the progress of the allied army, but the trenches had scarce been opened a week before it was determined to attack these as soon as the approach of the evening should conceal the motions of the assailants. To balance the honour as well as the duty between both nations, the attack of one was committed to the French, and of the

the other to the Americans. The former advanced with that impetuosity which ever has been their characteristic; and though the resistance of the English was firm and gallant, they were at length driven from their post, and the standard of France was displayed from the redoubt; the Americans on their side had been equally successful, and the fate of lord Cornwallis appeared unavoidable; some damage occasioned by two sallies that he had made was quickly repaired; and his attempt to escape to the opposite side of the river was frustrated by the tempestuous weather and the vigilance of the French ships of war.

The ardour of count Rochambeau and general Washington was stimulated by the rumour of relief from general Clinton; and ten days after the trenches were first opened, every preparation was made for a final assault; but this scene of carnage was averted by the prudence of the British commander, who, sensible of his hopeless situation, resolved not to sacrifice wantonly the lives of the gallant men entrusted to his care; he accordingly opened a negotiation, by which the troops under his command submitted to become prisoners of war; the Guadaloupe frigate of twenty-four guns, with several transports, and fifteen hundred seamen, in the division of the spoil were assigned

assigned to monsieur de Grasse, in return for the French naval power and assistance; but the land forces, amounting to between five and six thousand men, became the captives of the United States of America.

Such was the important and decisive achievement of France and America, which may be considered as ultimately sealing the independence of the latter. The conduct of the French officers in the moment of victory had been as conspicuous for humanity, as their valour had been distinguished in the hour of danger; such was the testimony of the vanquished commander, who in his official dispatches to the ministers of Great Britain, declared “their delicate sensibility of our situation, “their generous and pressing offers of money, “both public and private to any amount, has “really gone beyond what I can possibly describe; and will I hope make an impression on “the breast of every British officer, whenever the “fortune of war should put any of them into “our power.”

It was not alone the elder branch of the house of Bourbon that triumphed on the northern continent of America. An armament had been fitted out by Spain from the Havannah, and though at first it was scattered by a sudden and violent tempest, yet a persevering people continued their attempts,

tempts, penetrated deep into west Florida, and with an army of eight thousand men, invested Pensacola, the capital of that province; general Campbell, the governor, made a gallant defence; but the weakness of his garrison compelled him at length to surrender. The Spaniards, brave themselves, respected the valour of their enemy; the most favourable terms of capitulation were granted, and the standard of Spain was erected on the walls of Pensacola.

But Gibraltar, the favourite object of the court of Madrid, still continued to deride her attempts, and frustrate her incessant enterprises. A scheme to destroy the Panther and Experiment, two British ships of war, by means of fire ships, was rendered abortive by the vigilance and intrepidity of the English captains; and Spain, throughout the whole siege, had reason to regret her treasures lavishly expended, and her troops fruitlessly employed.

Holland, unprepared abroad and disunited at home, was an ally that claimed the more immediate attention and support of the court of Versailles; in the West Indies the British commanders had eagerly invaded the island of St. Eustatius; that settlement during the war had become the general magazine of all nations; and the valuable commodities which it contained, became a
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prey to the rapacity of the victors. Yet the conquerors reaped not that advantage which they expected from their indiscriminate confiscation; several of the vessels richly laden with spoil were intercepted on their voyage to Europe, and even in sight of the British coast, by monsieur de la Motte Piquet, who was cruizing off the Lizard with six ships of the line and five frigates. And before the close of the year the island itself was recovered by the activity of the marquis de Bouille, who suddenly landed with a select body of troops from Martinico, surprised colonel Cockburn the English commandant, and restored St. Eustatius to the dominion of the Dutch, the very day before count de Grasse cast anchor at Fort Royal from his decisive triumph on the coast of America.

But it was in the East that the republic of Holland was most vulnerable; and her exclusive possessions of the spice islands, her wealthy and populous settlement of Batavia, afforded the most fascinating allurements to the avarice of her enemies. In the beginning of the war France had received with indignation the intelligence that her settlements throughout Asia had been swept away by the power of the English; she therefore readily listened to proposals which tended to restore her own colonies in the East, and to secure
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those of her ally; she signed a treaty with the republic, which was to put her troops in possession of the Cape of Good Hope, a port on the African coast, the most convenient for refreshments on the long voyage to India; and she also engaged to detach an armament to act in conjunction with the Dutch forces in the East.

To fulfil this treaty, at the same time that the count de Grassé sailed from Brest to the West Indies, monsieur de Suffrein with five ships of the line and a considerable body of land forces was detached to the East, and the Cape of Good Hope. On his arrival at St. Jago, one of the Cape de Verd islands, he discerned a British squadron of nearly equal force at anchor within the harbour; this had sailed from England under the conduct of commodore Johnstone, much about the same time as Suffrein had quitted Brest, and was designed to surprise the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. The impetuosity of Suffrein, who was sensible how deeply the interests of his country were concerned in the destruction of this armament, prevailed over his respect to the crown of Portugal; and he hesitated not to enter a neutral harbour as enemy, and to attack the English. But though in this enterprize he displayed the most daring spirit and undaunted resolution, yet all the efforts of courage served only
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to expose his ships to the destructive fire of his adversary, who derived advantages from his situation that neither skill nor courage could compensate. The French commander was reluctantly compelled to abandon the attack, and after touching at the Cape of Good Hope, and reinforcing that settlement with a sufficient number of troops to secure it from insult, he steered to the island of Mauritius to join the count d'Orves, who, after the loss of Pondicherry, had assembled at that place the scattered remnant of the French forces.

But while France rather hoped than expected to establish her ancient power and influence on the coast of Coromandel, her ambitious views were seconded by a new and formidable enemy to Great Britain, who suddenly bursting through the unguarded passes, deluged with his myriads the devoted settlements of the English. This daring invader was Hyder Alli, whose successful ambition had raised him from an humble situation to an extensive empire in the East, and who had established such a military force as India had never beheld, and was thought incapable of producing. He had more than once disputed the honour of victory with the English East India Company; and though frequently defeated, yet he still appeared terrible, and had even menaced with his martial squadrons the capital of the victors,

tors, who were confounded by the rapid evolutions of a cavalry that precluded all flight, and derided all pursuit.

In the hour of presumptuous confidence, the English had violated the dignity of his throne by the reduction of Mahe, a French settlement established within his dominions, and under his protection. This insult had awakened those resentments which had rather been suspended than extinguished by former treaties; the supineness of the government of Madras encouraged his hopes; he penetrated through the gauts, or narrow passes in the mountains, which separate his territories from those of the English, and with a celerity that exceeds description, extended his bloody ravages over the face of the Carnatick. A considerable detachment, the flower of the English army on that coast, was overwhelmed after a gallant resistance, by the irresistible weight of his cavalry. General Munro, who commanded the principal army belonging to the settlement of Madras, was reduced to retreat before the torrent of his arms; Madras even trembled for her safety; and the progress of the victor was only checked by the arrival of general Coote with a large reinforcement from the province of Bengal. After an obstinate conflict Hyder was compelled to relinquish the field to the superior skill of that

veteran commander, and the persevering valour of his troops; but his numerous cavalry was still spread over the fertile fields of the Carnatick, and extended on every side the terror of his name.

It was under the pressure of this unexpected and formidable invasion that the English first received the intelligence of a rupture with the United States of Holland; and they displayed no small degree of vigour in crushing the settlements of this new enemy before they could co-operate, or receive assistance from Hyder; in Bengal Chinsura, on the coast of Coromandel Negapatnam, and Trincomalè in the island of Ceylon, were surprised or reduced by the English; and Holland beheld with terror the storm that threatened her settlements in Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccas.

But if in the East and West Indies the Dutch scarce displayed the shadow of resistance, in Europe they discovered a degree of resolution that astonished their friends, appalled their enemies, and restored that reputation for patient and obstinate courage which had emancipated them from the fetters of the house of Austria, and had raised them to contest with Great Britain the dominion of the seas. The Dogger bank was the scene where the Dutch and English encountered each other with equal valour and mutual animosity; their

their squadrons, which consisted of the same number of ships, seemed animated with a rage that knew no alternative between victory and death. The disabled state of their vessels compelled at length the combatants to desist; and though the Dutch, by retiring to their harbours, acknowledged the victory of the English, yet these were incapable of improving their advantage, and were glad also to shelter their shattered ships in port.

But whatever satisfaction France might derive from the spirit of her ally, it served not to counterbalance that discontent with which the people in general beheld the dismissal of a minister in whom they placed the most unbounded confidence. Monsieur Necker, in the management of the finances, had acquired the reputation of activity, industry, and severe integrity; he had conceived the arduous but popular project of maintaining a war by loans without taxes; and the rigid œconomy that he had introduced into all the departments of the royal household, and the various resources that presented themselves to his fertile genius, had supported him amidst the difficulties that attended this system. But his austerity of temper had not rendered him equally acceptable to the sovereign and his subjects; the repeated reforms he had recommended were represented as inconsistent with the dignity of the crown;

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he was dismissed from his office of comptroller general, and monsieur Joli de Fleuri, counsellor of state, was appointed to that important department.

The birth of the dauphin closed the memorable occurrences of the year, and though it could not extinguish the regret, served to divert the attention of the Parisians; the young prince was baptised by the cardinal de Rohan; the count of Provence and the princess Elizabeth represented as sponsors the emperor of Germany and the princess of Piedmont, and bestowed on their royal nephew the names of Lewis, Joseph, Xavier, and Francis.

Chapter the Forty-Fourth,

REDUCTION OF ST. NEVIS AND ST. CHRISTOPHER'S—DEFEAT AND CAPTURE OF COUNT DE GRASSE BY ADMIRAL RODNEY—SIEGE OF GIBRALTAR—CAMPAIGN IN THE EAST INDIES—GALLANT CONDUCT OF MONSIEUR DE SUFFREIN—DEFEAT OF COLONEL BRAITHWAITE—REDUCTION OF TRINCOMALE—COMMOTIONS AT GENEVA—VISIT OF THE GRAND DUKE AND DUCHESS OF RUSSIA—LIBERAL DONATION OF THE CLERGY—PREPARATIONS FOR THE NEXT CAMPAIGN—NEGOCIATIONS OF PEACE—PRELIMINARY ARTICLES BETWEEN AMERICA AND GREAT BRITAIN—BETWEEN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN—BETWEEN SPAIN AND GREAT BRITAIN—OPERATIONS IN THE EAST INDIES—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF HYDER ALI—ACTION BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH OFF THE COAST OF COROMANDEL—MARQUIS DE BUSSY INVESTED IN CUDDALORE—INTELLIGENCE OF THE PEACE ARRIVES IN INDIA.

A. D. 1782. **T**HE advantages which, at the close of the last campaign, had been obtained by the arms of France, were at the commencement of this, diligently improved by the ministers of Lewis; and the greatest exertions were called forth by the house of Bourbon to bring the war to a speedy and successful conclusion. The siege of Minorca, which had been undertaken in the preceding year, was terminated in the beginning of the present by the surrender of St. Phillips; the garrison were made prisoners of war; and their commander, general Murray, acknowledged in the most express terms the humane treatment they experienced from the victorious leaders, the duke de Crillon, and the baron de Falkenhayen.

The capture of the army under lord Cornwallis had ensured the independence of America, and the subsequent operations in that quarter were confined to some faint struggles made by the English in the Carolinas and Georgia. France was now at leisure to direct her attention to the East and West Indies; and monsieur de Grasse from the Chesapeake had steered his course to Martinico; his naval force, when collected, consisted of thirty ships of the line; but he had already detached four to convoy from St. Domingo the

the homeward bound trade to Europe. The court of Versailles, to supply this deficiency, had fitted out at Brest nine ships of the line, under the command of the marquis de Vaudreuil; these were accompanied by a numerous convoy of transports, destined for the service of the East and West; and they were escorted by the count de Guichen, who sailed at the same time with ten ships of the line to join the grand fleet of Spain off Cadiz. Off Scilly they were intercepted by the British fleet of thirteen ships of the line under admiral Kempenfelt; the admirable manœuvres of that officer were seconded by the favourable state of the wind; and the count de Guichen had the mortification to behold his convoy dispersed, and several of them taken by an inferior force. He himself continued his course to Cadiz, while the marquis de Vaudreuil, having detached part of his squadron to the Cape of Good Hope, with the rest joined monsieur de Grasse at Martinico.

That commander immediately prepared to avail himself of his decided superiority over the English squadron in those seas. With the marquis de Bouille, who had already erected the standard of France on the island of St. Nevis, he planned the attack of St. Christopher's, one of the most considerable of the West India islands that yet remained to Great Britain. The marquis

landed with eight thousand men and a formidable train of artillery, while the count de Graffe occupied with his fleet Basse-terre Road, and seemed to preclude every hope of relief; general Frazer, the English commander, immediately retired to Brimstone Hill, a strong post, which he declared he would defend to the last extremity. But the operations of the French were soon interrupted by the appearance of a British squadron of twenty-two ships of the line, conducted by admiral Hood, an officer of approved skill and experience. The count de Graffe, whose naval force consisted of twenty-nine large ships, hesitated not to quit his station to encounter his daring adversary. The action was partial and indecisive; but in the course of it admiral Hood, by a sudden change of disposition, deceived the count de Graffe, eluded his attack, and pressing towards the island, gained the very anchorage in Basse-terre Road that the French fleet had quitted.

Though the count de Graffe could not but admire the superior dexterity of his adversary, he was by no means inclined to leave him in quiet possession of his advantage. The next morning with his whole force he attacked the English squadron from van to rear; but these sustained with a steady fire the repeated efforts of the French; and though the count in the course of
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the evening renewed the attempt, the damage that his ships had incurred compelled him reluctantly to desist.

The marquis de Bouille could not be indifferent to the operations of the hostile fleets, whose fate was likely to involve his own; but instead of desponding or endeavouring to retreat, he pushed his attacks with increase of ardour. Brimstone Hill was closely invested on every side; and while he confided the blockade of that post to the marquis of St. Simon, he himself marched with four thousand troops to encounter a detachment that had been landed from the British ships. Although the strong situation and number of these, amounting to two thousand four hundred men, rendered an assault imprudent, yet the marquis continued vigilantly to observe their motions; till, hopeless of joining or succouring their countrymen, they reembarked; in the mean time every moment was assiduously employed in the annoyance of the English intrenched at Brimstone Hill; the marquis de Bouille had again resumed the command of the besiegers; and the incessant fire of his artillery had reduced the works and buildings to a heap of ruins. The English, under the terror of immediate destruction, consented to surrender a post that they were incapable of defending any longer; and the humanity of
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the marquis granted the same favourable terms of capitulation as had been agreed upon at the reduction of Dominica.

The English admiral was no sooner informed of the fate of St. Christopher's, than he determined to abandon a situation which was no longer either secure or useful; and this resolution he executed with a secrecy and celerity that prevented all danger from the superior force of count de Grasse. Under cover of the night he cut his cables; and sailing from Basseterre Road, directed his course towards Barbadoes, in hopes of joining a considerable squadron that was hourly expected from England; while the count de Grasse and the marquis de Bouille, after the reduction of Montserrat, returned to Martinico.

In that road had been assembled one hundred and fifty transports, with a large quantity of artillery, and a considerable body of land forces.— These were destined for an enterprize which, had it proved successful, must have extinguished in the West Indies the power of Great Britain. The count de Grasse, whose fleet already amounted to thirty-three sail of the line fit for action, was to have been joined by a strong Spanish squadron from the Havannah; and the united force of the house of Bourbon was to have been directed against Jamaica, the most flourishing settlement belonging

belonging to the English in that quarter of the globe.

In pursuance of this design the count quitted Fort Royal Bay about the beginning of April, to proceed to the place of his destination; but he scarce lost sight of the island of Martinico, before he descried the British fleet, commanded by admiral Rodney, and by late reinforcements from Europe swelled to thirty-six sail of the line. He immediately hoisted the signal for action, and sustained with great gallantry the attack of the enemy; but intent on the grand object of his court, he availed himself of a favourable wind, and bore away towards Guadaloupe.

But that prosperous fortune which hitherto had attended the enterprises of France, on this occasion deserted her.—In the late action the *Zelee*, a seventy-four, had suffered material damage; and though the count de Grasse had gained a considerable start of admiral Rodney, yet the shattered condition of that ship allowed her not to keep up with the rest of the fleet. The French admiral was now reduced to the painful alternative of hazarding the success of his expedition by a second action, or to endure the disgrace of abandoning the *Zelee* a prey to the pursuit of the enemy.

On this trying occasion he determined to preserve

serve inviolate the honour of the French flag; and though his judgment has been arraigned, since, in relinquishing the *Zélé*, and hastening to join the Spanish squadron, he might have severely revenged the loss of that ship by the probable reduction of Jamaica, yet the more honourable resolution was in some measure sanctioned by the state of the fleet under his command, and the probability that this engagement, like all the preceding ones, might prove indecisive.

In this hope he bore down to the succour of the *Zélé*, and compelled the most forward of the English ships to retire at the moment that they were ready to attack her; the approach of night precluded all immediate action; but in the morning the French admiral found the English had gained the wind of him, and that he must stake the fortune of France on a decisive engagement. This was continued from seven in the morning till half past six in the evening, when the setting sun put an end to the contest and to the hopes of France. The *Ville de Paris*, of one hundred and ten guns, commanded by count de Grasse himself, the *Glorieux*, the *Hector*, and the *Cæsar* of seventy-four, with the *Ardent* of sixty-four, were compelled to strike to the superior fortune of Great Britain; the *Cæsar* soon after caught fire and blew up; while the marquis de Vaudreuil

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collected part of the scattered fleet, and with nineteen ships of the line escaped to Martinico; the rest, shattered and dispersed, endeavoured to reach the nearest ports, and elude the pursuits of the victors.

If the prudence of the count de Grasse was in some measure impeached, his courage was universally acknowledged: though wounded, he defended his ship to the last extremity; and before he consented to strike his flag, the *Ville de Paris* resembled a wreck. He was received on board the *Barfleur* with those marks of respect that the brave never fail to shew to each other; after continuing a short time at Jamaica, he was conveyed to England, and was there honoured by the constant attention of the royal family; while the applause of the multitude, who admired the personal gallantry of their enemy, contributed to sooth the painful recollection of defeat.

The misfortunes of France ended not with the twelfth of April. The *Cato* and the *Jason*, two men of war of sixty-four guns each, with the *Amiable* of thirty-two, and the *Ceres* of eighteen guns, were taken by a squadron under admiral Hood, detached from the main English fleet; the same baneful influence seemed also to extend to Europe; and in that month the *Pegasus* of seventy-four guns, and the *Actionnaire* of sixty-four,
which

which had sailed from Brest for the East Indies, with ten ships of their convoy, were captured by the English off Ushant.

The marquis de Vaudreuil, after the late defeat, steered with the remnant of the fleet that he could collect from Cape François to America; but rising under the pressure of calamity, he previously detached monsieur Perouse in the Sceptre of seventy-four guns, with two large frigates, against the remote possessions and property of the English Hudson's Bay Company. As the marquis was unacquainted with the defenceless state of these settlements, he added three hundred soldiers, with some mortars and cannon for the sieges that might present themselves.

But the only difficulties that monsieur Perouse encountered were those which attended the navigation of obscure straights and gulphs, among the frozen regions of the north; and for three weeks, from the moment that they passed the islands of Resolution, which mark the entrance into Hudson's Straits, they were incessantly exposed to new and imminent peril; notwithstanding the power of the sun in the month of July, the ships at one time were so fast locked up in the ice, that the seamen went on foot from one to the other; and even after they had extricated themselves, things appeared so hopeless, that monsieur Perouse even meditated

meditated on sending back the Sceptre with one of the frigates to the West Indies, and of wintering himself with the other frigate and a part of the troops in the Bay. So severe a trial of his constancy was however prevented by the appearance of a small opening in the ice two days afterwards; through this the ships forced their way with a press of sail, and afterwards discovered, to their no small joy, the English colours flying from a fort on the banks of Churchill River.

If the toils and dangers of the voyage had been great, some compensation was afforded by the facility of the conquest; the forts of the Hudson's Bay Company were only garrisoned by a motley crew of storekeepers, clerks, and servants, who surrendered on the first appearance of an European enemy. Some few sought shelter in the deep and impenetrable woods; and monsieur Perouse having by the destruction of the forts and merchandize completed the object of his expedition, had yet the humane precaution to preserve one of the magazines, in which he deposited provisions, arms, and ammunition for the use and subsistence of the fugitives who had eluded his pursuit, and who during the long and approaching winter could not have received any relief from home.

While France in every quarter of the globe dis-

displayed that active spirit which could not be repressed by defeat, the patient courage of the Spaniards was still exercised in the incessant siege of Gibraltar. The duke de Crillon, adorned with the laurels of Minorca, aspired to additional fame from this more arduous enterprise; and the count d'Artois, and the duke of Bourbon, disdaining the ease and luxury of Versailles, animated the camp of St. Roch by their presence. But they had scarce arrived before they endured the mortification of beholding the principal works of the besiegers destroyed. A heavy fire of hot shot and shells from the batteries of the garrison soon communicated the destructive flames to the batteries and magazines of the Spaniards, and the labour of months was consumed in a few hours.

Yet the court of Madrid, though often baffled, still persevered; and to preclude the garrison of Gibraltar from the hope of relief, the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of forty-four ships of the line, were directed to block up the harbour. This was but the prelude to a new and different mode of attack, which had long been meditated, and on which the most sanguine expectations were grounded. Ten ships of different sizes, from six hundred to fourteen hundred tons burthen, were converted into floating batteries. They were secured by every art that ingenuity could

could devise, and provided with every offensive or defensive material that experience suggested, or the wealth of Spain could furnish. Two hundred and twelve brass guns, each of them carrying balls of twenty-six pounds, menaced from their maffy decks immediate destruction ; they were supported by a sufficient number of frigates ; and three hundred large boats were also collected for the conveyance of the troops that were ready to avail themselves of the confusion of the garrison, and the breaches that it was expected the floating batteries must soon occasion. But Gibraltar was entrusted to the care of general Elliot, an officer whose vigilance, courage, and unshaken resolution were never excelled ; and who with the caution and experience of age, preserved the activity and enterprise of youth. The fire from the floating batteries was indeed terrible ; but they were soon answered by the thunder of the garrison ; and the same engines of destruction that had proved fatal to the Spanish preparations on shore, now blasted their hopes at sea. A shower of hot balls and shells in a few hours involved the floating batteries in flames ; the gun boats of the English prevented the Spaniards from approaching to the assistance of their countrymen ; to avoid the rapid progress of one destructive element, the miserable men were compelled to confide them-

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selves to another; part perished by the fire, part were overwhelmed by the sea, and the scanty remnant was only saved by the British seamen, who discovered the same ardour in relieving their enemies, as they had displayed an hour before in conquering them.

One resource still remained to the house of Bourbon; and the besiegers, thus fatally baffled in every assault, now resolved patiently to await the slow but certain effects of famine. To prevent the garrison from receiving any supplies, the combined fleets were directed to stretch across the bay; but even this disposition could not ensure success; a violent tempest that arose shattered their ships, and drove on shore the *Triumphant*, a Spanish man of war of seventy-four guns; and the English fleet of thirty-four sail of the line, with a considerable convoy, before they could recover from their confusion, entered the Straits, and landed the troops and provisions for the relief of Gibraltar. On their return a partial and indecisive action took place off the Strait's mouth; but the English had already effected the object of their expedition; and the French and Spanish commanders judged it not prudent to press an engagement which, if adverse, might be attended by the most fatal consequences, and, if successful, could not tend to the immediate reduction of the fortress.

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If the war languished in America, it was resumed with increase of ardour in the East, and the coasts of Coromandel were stained with the blood of the contending powers. From the Cape of Good Hope monsieur Suffrein had proceeded with favourable winds to the island of Mauritius; he there resigned the command to his senior officer, the count d'Orves; and the French fleet, increased by this junction to ten ships of the line, and one of fifty guns, besides several large frigates, sailed for the coast of Coromandel, accompanied by a number of transports and store ships, with a considerable body of land forces. On the voyage the count d'Orves, whose zeal in the service had rose superior to the infirmities of a debilitated constitution, expired; and the sole command of the fleet devolved on monsieur Suffrein, whose skill and courage have deservedly ranked him among the most celebrated naval characters of the age.

On his passage he fell in with the Hannibal, a British man of war of fifty guns, which after a gallant but fruitless resistance, was compelled to surrender, and swelled the number of the French squadron. With this addition to his strength he swept the Coromandel coast, and entered Madras Roads in hopes of surprising, according to the intelligence he had received, the English admiral, Sir Edward Hughes, with only six ships of the

line. This force he considered himself capable of easily overwhelming; the loss of the numerous trading ships and transports in the road must have attended the destruction of the fleet; and while such an unexpected calamity spread terror through the town of Madras, the French forces, joined by Hyder Alli's numerous army, would have carried on their attacks against it by land, and the victorious squadron would have assailed it by sea.

From this flattering illusion, which promised to determine the war at a single blow, monsieur Suffrein was awakened to a disappointment as mortifying as it was unexpected; a few days before the English squadron had been joined by a reinforcement from Europe; they had at the same time been apprized of the approach of monsieur Suffrein; three hundred land forces had been detached from Madras to strengthen their numbers; and the French admiral now beheld, instead of the defenceless squadron, he fondly expected to surprise, nine ships of the line, drawn up in proper order, and ready to receive him.

Under these circumstances all views of attack were abandoned, and monsieur Suffrein stood out to sea with the intention of landing the land forces to the support of Hyder Alli. The English, who penetrated his design, immediately followed,
and

and an action ensued the next morning, long, bloody, but indecisive. The preservation of his convoy was the chief object of the French commander, but in the course of the engagement he displayed a degree of intrepidity that extorted the applause of his adversaries. Night only parted the combatants; and monsieur Suffrein repressing his ardour, and anxious to secure the retreat of his convoy, stood off to the north-east.

This important object was no sooner attained than the French admiral once more directed his course in search of the English. The latter, during this interval, had been reinforced from Europe by two men of war of seventy-four guns each; but this formidable accession of strength could not damp the courage or alter the resolution of monsieur Suffrein; he himself led the attack on board the *Heros* of seventy-four guns, and continued to engage for a considerable time the English admiral within pistol shot. The damages sustained by the *Heros* induced him to shift his flag into the *Hannibal*, a French ship of equal force; and by his superior fire he disabled and drove out of the line the *Monmouth* of sixty-four guns. Though every effort was made to board that ship, she was rescued by the approach of three other English ships; and the hostile fleets, after a fierce and bloody contest, in which

they had displayed similar gallantry, and suffered similar loss, separated as if by mutual consent; for several days following they however kept sight of each other; but their reciprocal damages suspended on both sides all idea of attack; the English retired to Trincomalè, and the French squadron proceeded to Batacalo, a Dutch port in the island of Ceylon, and about twenty leagues to the southward of Trincomalè.

The war on land raged not with less fury than at sea. In the general destruction of the French settlements on the commencement of hostilities, a small band had found shelter in the dominions of Hyder Alli, and ever since under the command of monsieur Lally, had given stability to the operations of that enterprising prince. They now, in conjunction with Tippoo Saib, the son of Hyder, and who inherited the daring spirit of his father, attacked a British detachment under colonel Braithwaite, that had encamped on the banks of the Coleroon, for the protection of Tanjour and the adjoining provinces. This small but select corps consisted of two thousand veteran infantry, with thirteen field pieces, and two hundred and fifty cavalry. For two successive days they repulsed with undaunted resolution the reiterated attacks of Hyder's cavalry, though amounting to the formidable number of twenty thousand;

thousand; but on the third they were broken by the charge of four hundred French, who advanced with bayonets fixed, and were led on by monsieur Lally himself. The humanity of that officer was not less conspicuous than his courage; he not only issued orders for putting a stop to the carnage; but hastened personally, and with apparent hazard, to chastise and restrain the cruel fury of the black cavalry, five of whom perished by his own hand in the generous exertion. He also prevailed on Tippoo Saib to commit the prisoners to his care, and endeavoured to soothe their misfortunes by every mark of kindness and respect; nor can it have escaped the reader, that during the whole course of the war, the French and English mutually vied with each other in acts of generous compassion as well as daring valour.

In the first engagement with the English fleet, the ardour of monsieur Suffrein had been restrained by a prudent attention to his convoy. He soon after landed at Porto Novo the land forces and artillery that had been entrusted to his care. These were joined by a body of native troops from Hyder Alli; and the combined army immediately marched to the siege of Cuddalore. The feeble garrison in that place was not long able to resist their arms; and monsieur Duchemin, the French commander,

having secured a future post for the reception of succours, which France before was destitute of, now proceeded to more distant conquests. He accordingly invested Permacoil to the northward; and after the reduction of that fort, effected a junction with the main army of Hyder Alli, and in concert with that prince meditated an attack on Vandiwash.

The approach of the English compelled them to abandon that enterprise; and the combined army, strong in their numbers, possessed themselves also of such advantageous posts as defied any assault. But the British commander, general Coote, having menaced the siege of Arnee, a strong fortress in which Hyder's great magazines were deposited, that prince relinquished his situation, and advanced to the protection of it. A battle ensued, in which the allies were routed by the superior discipline of their adversaries. But the native troops, chiefly composed of cavalry, easily eluded the pursuit of the victors; and monsieur Duchemin had cautiously avoided exposing the French; whom he wished to preserve intire, till the arrival of the marquis de Buffy with a considerable force, an event that was daily expected, might enable them to act with efficacy.

In consequence of this plan he retired to
Cuddalore,

Cuddalore, which he industriously strengthened by new works, and rendered secure from any sudden insult. The indisposition of general Coote about the same time compelled him to quit the field; and the exhausted state of the country affording scarce any subsistence to the hostile armies, no event of any considerable importance took place in the Carnatic during the remainder of the year.

But this cessation was entirely confined to the land; and the Indian ocean was still destined to be the scene of hard and bloody action. Monsieur Suffrein had returned from Batacalo to the coast of Coromandel; and having refreshed his fleet at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, he proceeded from thence to Cuddalore, which the French had rendered their strong and great place at arms, both for the land and sea service. It was his object to attack the English squadron before the arrival of a reinforcement, which he knew had sailed from England, and was impatiently expected at Madras. He was furnished at Cuddalore with four hundred French, and as many Seapoys; and to these were added three hundred artillery men, than which no aid could be more thoroughly effective.

Thus strengthened, he appeared off Negapatam, where the English fleet lay at anchor; and admiral

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ral Hughes, impatient of the insult, immediately quitted the security of his station to meet his rival. The number of ships on each side was the same as in the last engagement; the same courage and skill were displayed; and the event was nearly similar; the French fleet was however reduced to retire first from action; the captain of the *Severe* of sixty-four guns even struck his colours; but the officer next in rank immediately assumed the command, renewed the engagement, and brought off the ship, which, with the rest of the squadron, reached Cuddalore; while admiral Hughes having kept the sea about a fortnight longer, proceeded to Madras.

Monsieur de Suffrein used the utmost industry and dispatch in refitting his squadron; and having received advice from the *sieur d'Aymar*, that he was arrived at Point de Galles, which lies on the south side of the island of Ceylon, in his own ship the *St. Michael* of sixty-four guns, accompanied by the *Illustre* of seventy-four, and the second division of the *marquis de Buffy's* troops, the French admiral immediately sailed from Cuddalore, and having joined this squadron, proceeded with his whole force to the attack of Trincomalè, where he arrived toward the end of August.

The fire of the English batteries from that place could

could not prevent his fleet from anchoring in the most advantageous station for the annoyance of the garrison; the landing of the troops under the conduct of the baron d'Agout was effected the next day, and the place was immediately invested. After two days employed in erecting batteries, those on the left were opened early in the morning, and soon gained such a decided superiority, that the English cannon were silenced before night. On the following day monsieur de Suffrein, encouraged by this success, summoned the garrison; and captain Macdowal, the British commandant, convinced that all further defence was fruitless, consented to capitulate.

The terms that he demanded were immediately subscribed by the generosity and prudence of the French commanders. The honours of war were granted in the fullest extent; the garrison was to be directly conveyed to Madras, in ships provided at the expence of France; the Dutch inhabitants, as well as the garrison, were to be secured in their private property; and all the rights and privileges of the former were to be preserved inviolate.

Monsieur de Suffrein had but scarce time to possess and secure his new acquisition, when the English fleet, on the second of September, was descried off Trincomalè; admiral Hughes had
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been lately joined by a ship of 74 guns; but still the advantage was on the side of the French, and they were superior to their adversaries by one ship of the line, and two of fifty guns. Monsieur de Suffrein now flattered himself the moment was arrived when he might establish the dominion of France in those seas by a glorious and decisive victory. He accordingly got under sail, and stood out to sea; and about three o'clock in the evening the action became general. Monsi. de Suffrein himself in the *Heros* again encountered admiral Hughes in the *Superbe*, and the rival commanders maintained a close and bloody conflict till half past five; had the other French officers imitated the conduct of their chief, that day had probably avenged the fatal defeat of monsieur de Grasse; but several seemed to consider their own personal safety beyond the honour of their country; and though the admiral himself, with his ship nearly dismasted, and one third of his gallant crew killed and wounded, bravely persevered, he perceived with indignation his hopes of conquest blasted by the cautious manœuvres of his followers. Under cover of the night he reluctantly condescended to retire to Trincomalè whence, no longer under the necessity of disguising his resentments, he sent six of his captains under arrest to the island of Mauritius; the approach

approach of those hurricanes which at a certain season of the year sweep with destructive fury the coast of Coromandel, compelled the hostile squadrons to consult their mutual safety; and while the French sought shelter at Achem, a port belonging to the island of Sumatra, the English retired to the friendly harbour of Bombay.

While the fleets and armies of France were thus occupied in the east, the attention of her ministers at home was directed to the commotions which agitated the republic of Geneva. By the original constitution of Geneva, the sovereign power of the state was invested in the general council, which consisted of the citizens promiscuously assembled. By degrees the magistrates and senate had increased their own authority, and diminished the privileges of the people. The latter had not suffered these innovations without repeated remonstrances; and the taxes which the senate imposed, and the severity with which they punished those who were most loud in their opposition, increased the number of the disaffected. Such a state of things naturally occasioned frequent contests; and to prevent a continuance of disputes, the democratical party required a regular code of laws, which should be for the rulers the foundation of their authority, and for the people the known standard of their obedience.

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This salutary project, which might have restored mutual confidence, was defeated by the intrigues of the aristocracy; the magistrates were determined not to circumscribe the authority they had hitherto possessed; and in support of their jurisdiction solicited the interference of foreign powers.

Of these the most considerable was the king of France, who, as protector of the republic, concerted with the king of Sardinia and the cantons of Zurich and Bern, the means of restoring tranquillity to Geneva. They at length formed a code, which lodged the supreme power in the magistrates; and to give weight to their mediation, an army of twelve thousand men belonging to the king of France, the king of Sardinia, and the Swiss cantons, encamped under the walls of the city. The leaders of the democratic party were unable to contend with their rivals, thus formidably supported; the gates of the city were opened to the combined forces; and the pretensions of the syndics were established by the count de Jancourt, the count of Marmora, and messieurs Steiguer and Valtevalle, the ministers plenipotentiary of the mediating powers. A general amnesty was at the same time published, out of which only nineteen persons were excepted; two of these were deprived of their employments, seven

seven were condemned to perpetual exile, and the rest were banished for ten years; but the spirits of the inhabitants were severely wounded by these new regulations; and a great number hesitated not to quit their ancient habitations, in search of that freedom which they considered themselves deprived of in their native country.

Paris, amidst the gloom which naturally accompanies a long and extensive war, received a transient ray of splendour from the visit of the grand duke and duchess of Russia; these illustrious travellers were peculiarly gratified by the marked attention of Lewis and his royal consort; but the visits of sovereigns, and their apparent successors, have become so frequent of late years, as no longer to excite the speculations of statesmen; and the grand-duke and duchess, after -tasting, during a short month, the splendid enjoyments of the capital of France, directed their steps again towards the north.

With the administration of monsieur Necker had expired the great and popular system of supporting a war, without increasing the burthens of the people. The management of the finances had not long been entrusted to monsieur Fleuri, before the people were again awakened to a sense of their situation, by a variety of edicts and imposts, all of them probably necessary, but some of them

them undoubtedly grievous. These could not fail of recalling to their remembrance the virtuous œconomy of the late minister, whom they had beheld dismissed with regret, and for whose restoration they incessantly languished.

To multiply the resources of government, without augmenting the burthens of the public, the ministers endeavoured to kindle throughout the capital and different provinces, a flame of enthusiasm, which, if productive of no solid advantage, might yet dazzle the eyes of the multitude, and awe the enemies of France. The defeat of count de Grasse had impressed the kingdom with general grief and consternation; and to repair the loss that the national marine had sustained, several states and wealthy communities were prevailed upon to display their zeal in building and fitting out ships of war, according to their respective strength and affluence.

The liberality of the clergy this year was still more honourable to themselves, and more consistent with their sacred profession. To the exigencies of the state they granted a free gift of fifteen millions of livres. At the same time they requested the sovereign to accept an additional million, to be inviolably applied to the comfort and maintenance of those seamen who had been wounded in the course of the war, and to the support

support of the widows and orphans of those who had fallen, gallantly fighting in the defence of the naval glory of France.

Yet these contributions, though A. D. 1783. they reflected the highest honour on the donors, were but a partial and scanty supply, while the immense preparations of France demanded the most solid and effectual support. In conjunction with the courts of Madrid and the Hague, Lewis was determined this year to make the most powerful efforts to bring the war to a conclusion. The combined fleets of the house of Bourbon still maintained their superiority, in Europe, over the English. The marquis de Buffly with three ships of the line, three thousand land troops, and a considerable train of artillery, supported the hopes of France in the east, and already aspired to the conquest of the coast of Coromandel. Nine ships of the line, and thirty transports, in which were embarked seven thousand five hundred select soldiers, sailed from Brest to America, under the conduct of monsieur de Vialis, to reinforce the marquis de Vaudreuil, and to complete the expulsion of the English from that continent; while the States general of Holland agreed to supply, at their own expence, ten ships of the line, which were to rendezvous at Brest, and to act in concert with the squadrons of

France. The count d'Estaing, grown grey in naval combats, was called by the general applause to the supreme command, and in the room of don Lewis de Cordova, was appointed to lead to victory the combined fleets of the house of Bourbon.

Such were the preparations for the ensuing campaign, which promised the most important advantages to France, when the voice of peace was again heard, and Lewis consented to sacrifice his ambition to the ease and happiness of his people. The ministers of great Britain, whose imprudence and incapacity had plunged their country in a war as calamitous in the conclusion, as it was impolitic in the origin, were at length, by the clamours of the multitude, and the indignation of parliament, removed from the councils of their sovereign; and they were succeeded by men who no longer nourished the frantic idea of controlling the independence of America; the freedom of that continent had been the grand object of France; the defeat in the West Indies, and the repulse at Gibraltar, were still deeply impressed on the mind of Lewis; and though his vast armaments, and the resources of his allies, presented the fairest prospect of success in the ensuing campaign, he was not insensible of the various accidents to which military operations were

were liable, and how little he could confide in a naval superiority, which in a moment might be annihilated by the rage of a fickle and turbulent element.

These considerations induced him to listen to the proffered and powerful mediation of the two first potentates in Europe, the emperor of Germany and the empress of Russia; and the count de Vergennes, who still occupied the post of secretary of foreign affairs, was appointed to treat with Mr. Fitzherbert the English minister at Brussels, but who had lately proceeded to Paris to conduct this important negociation. The way was already smoothed for the restoration of the public tranquillity by provisional articles signed at the conclusion of the last year, between the States of America and Great Britain, and which were to constitute a treaty of peace finally to be concluded, when that between France and Great Britain took place.

By these articles the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the Thirteen United States were individually by name, and in the fullest and most express terms acknowledged; and all claims to their governments and territorial rights were for ever relinquished by the crown of Great Britain. Several lines were drawn to preclude all future disputes about boundaries; and on the sea coasts,

as the British forces were to be withdrawn from all the territories of the United States, New York, Long Island, Staten Island, Charles Town, and Nova Scotia, with all their dependencies, were given up; and an unlimited right of fishery on the banks of Newfoundland, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, and all other places where both nations had been hitherto accustomed to fish, was granted to the Americans.

Thus had France the satisfaction of stripping Great Britain of those colonies so long her pride and boast, and in erecting a new power across the Atlantic, to have secured to herself a grateful and potent ally. This primary object was therefore no sooner attained, than the count de Vergennes quickened the negotiations of his own court; and on the twentieth of January signed at Paris, with Mr. Fitzherbert, the preliminary articles of peace.

By these France acquired an extent of fishery on the coast of Newfoundland, which extended from Cape St. John in about fifty degrees north latitude, on the eastern side of the island, round by the north to Cape Raye, on the western coast, in forty-seven degrees and fifty minutes latitude; she also regained the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, in full right, and tacitly delivered from any restriction in point of fortification, with
which

which they had before been disgracefully incumbered.

In the West Indies, England restored to her the island of St. Lucia, and ceded and guaranteed to her the island of Tobago; but France consented to relinquish in return the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, with those of St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis, and Montserrat.

In Africa, France was invested in full right with the river Senegal, and all its dependencies, with the forts of St. Louis, Podoz, Galem, Arguin, and Portendia; and obtained also restitution of the island of Gorée; but, on the other hand, she guaranteed to Great Britain the possession of Fort James, and of the river Gambia.

In the East, France regained, with considerable additions, all that had been wrested from her by Great Britain in the course of the war; all her establishments in Bengal and Orissa were to be restored, and liberty was given for surrounding Chandernagor with a wet ditch; Pondicherry and Carical were likewise restored to her; her standard was again to be erected on Mahè, and she was once more reinstated in her factory at Surat; while the king of Great Britain was bound to procure from the princes, whose property they were, certain specified neighbouring districts

round these places which were to be annexed to them as dependencies.

In Europe, where the dominion of France could not be extended, her dignity and glory were studiously consulted. The degrading conditions which had marked the calamitous close of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, which had been revived in that of his successor, and which stipulated the demolition of the works round Dunkirk, were for ever abrogated and suppressed; and Lewis the Sixteenth enjoyed the splendid satisfaction of restoring to France the entire sovereignty over her own territories.

Nor was the other branch of the house of Bourbon neglected on this occasion; long refused to victory, and accustomed to behold her boundaries gradually recede, Spain now tasted the sweets of acquisition; though continually baffled and repulsed before Gibraltar, her pride was soothed by the cession of the important island of Minorca in the Mediterranean; and to the boundless possessions which she already held in South America, were now added the fertile provinces of East and West Florida on the northern continent. Some retribution was however to be made; and the Bahama Islands, the most unworthy of her conquests, were restored to Great Britain.

But Holland had entered too late into the war,
and

and had been guided by too evident a regard for her own commercial interests, to merit much support from the court of Versailles; the States-general were therefore left to struggle with the difficulties that presented themselves, and to afford a future example to other powers with how much caution they should interfere in the quarrels of more mighty potentates. That close connection, which once had subsisted between the Hague and London, was for ever dissolved; and the Dutch discovered, that though they had lost an old, they had not yet acquired a new ally.

Though tranquillity was thus restored to Europe, Africa, and America; Asia, distant from the scene of negotiation, continued still exposed to the ravages of war. Hyder Alli, whose aspiring genius had so long and severely agitated that quarter of the globe, had sunk into the grave, and had left behind a character scarce to be paralleled in the annals of the East. His mind was so vast and comprehensive as at once to reach and embrace all the parts of war and of government; as a warrior, the Carnatic was a mournful testimony of his achievements; as a statesman, the internal regulation of his own territories proclaimed his sagacity; though daring in war, he was far from being naturally cruel; and strictly observant of his own word, he punished with

rigour in others that breach of faith which he abhorred. He despised, and dispensed with, as far as with propriety it could be done, the vain pageantry and haughty pomp of the Indian courts; living in habits of great intimacy and familiarity with his friends, courtiers, and officers; and displaying in his own person the frank manners of a camp, instead of the proud distance and austere reserve of an eastern despot.

His son, Tippoo Saib, equally bold, prompt, and vigilant, but less scrupulous, and more ferocious, was the heir of his throne and enterprises; he was already distinguished by his successive victories over colonel Baillie in the Carnatic, and colonel Braithwaite on the banks of the Coleroon; and his enemies were soon convinced that the accession to royalty had not damped his ardour, or chilled his martial spirit. General Mathews, a British officer, had penetrated with a select detachment to Bednore, the capital of the wealthy kingdom of Canore; his progress had been marked by cruelty and avarice; and his rapacity not only stimulated him to plunder with unfeeling assiduity the prostrate city, but even to defraud his companions of their portion of the spoils. The avenger of his country's injuries was however at hand, and general Mathews had scarce time to indulge in the contemplation of his newly acquired

acquired riches, before he was alarmed by the approach of Tippoo Saib, who, with an host of cavalry, and the small corps of French, under the command of monsieur Lally, pressed forwards to chastise the temerity of the invader. The English commander marched out to meet the exasperated prince; but neither his strength or skill seemed proportioned to his presumption; his ranks were instantly broken by the charge of the French; with the loss of five hundred men he retired within the walls of Bednore; and soon after signed a capitulation which, on a promise of their lives and liberties, delivered himself and his troops into the power of Tippoo Saib. That capitulation was soon violated by the faithless victor; he even justified the infraction of the treaty, by the evasion of the vanquished to restore the spoils of Bednore, which they had stipulated to refund, but had endeavoured to conceal. The general was the unlamented victim of his own avarice, and is reported to have perished by poison; several of the principal officers were barbarously murdered; and the scanty remnant that were released at the conclusion of the peace, had experienced sufferings that rendered the fate of their slaughtered companions enviable.

The hostile ardour of the French and English squadrons had been mutually repressed by a sense
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of their own danger, and to avoid the monsoons, that scatter destruction along the coast of Coromandel, each sought shelter in their respective harbours; but that tempestuous season was no sooner elapsed, than the spirit of enterprise revived; and monsieur Suffrein, early in the year, proceeded from Trincomalè to Cuddalore; he was there reinforced by twelve hundred European troops, which he dispersed among his ships, and was lying at anchor in the road of Pondicherry when he discovered the approach of the English fleet under admiral Hughes.

The British squadron had been joined by five ships of the line from Europe, and was now superior in number to the French by two ships of the line. But monsieur Suffrein was not dismayed by this disparity; and with the same spirit that had marked his former conduct, he prepared to maintain the honour of the French flag; the action began about four o'clock in the afternoon, and a heavy cannonade was continued until seven; at that hour the conflict ceased without any decisive consequences; each squadron had to lament the unavailing slaughter of a number of gallant men; and with this severe trial of their strength, concluded the naval warfare in India; admiral Hughes soon after retired to Madras; and monsieur de Suffrein, who throughout the whole war had
sustained

sustained the character of a bold and skilful commander, proceeded to Cuddalore to return the land forces with which he had been reinforced, and to which he added two thousand four hundred men from his own fleet.

This succour, though important, was not more than necessary to the immediate defence of that place. The marquis de Buffſy, who had lately arrived in India with a considerable body of European troops, found his situation far from enviable; general Coote, whose skill, experience, and enterprising genius had been confirmed and displayed in the course of long service, was indeed no more; and by his death the command of the British forces had devolved on general Stuart. But the marquis de Buffſy was soon taught that this officer aspired to rival the fame of his predecessor; and he was scarce arrived at Cuddalore before he beheld himself invested by the British troops, conducted by their new general; who had seized the favourable moment of enterprise when Tippoo Saib had evacuated the Carnatic for the recovery of Bednore.

The works of Cuddalore had been strengthened by unwearied labour and diligence; and the marquis de Buffſy was still employed in the construction of new fortifications, when his progress was interrupted by the menacing manœuvres of the English,

English, who rapidly advanced to assault the lines before they could be completed. The attack and defence were both maintained with a degree of resolution that had seldom been experienced in that quarter of the globe, and perhaps never surpassed in Europe; the assailants, though frequently repulsed, as constantly returned to the charge; but the French were at length overwhelmed by numbers, and were compelled to abandon their out posts with the loss in killed and wounded of near six hundred of their best troops.

The arrival of the fleet under monsieur Suffrein, and the reinforcement that he landed from the ships, determined the marquis de Bussy to hazard a vigorous sally, in hopes of recovering the posts that he had lost, and of making some impression on the works of the besiegers. The conduct of this enterprize was entrusted to the chevalier de Damas, a knight of Malta, and colonel of the regiment of Aquitain, and the hour fixed for the execution of it was three o'clock in the morning. But though under cover of the darkness a transient advantage was gained, yet the English were soon alarmed; as light opened their numbers increased; the French were pushed on every side; a complete rout ensued; the chevalier de Damas with about one hundred and fifty soldiers were

were taken prisoners, and near two hundred fell in the conflict.

It was at this critical juncture that the *Medea* frigate arrived from Madras at Cuddalore, and brought information of the conclusion of peace between the two nations; a mutual cessation of hostilities, and restoration of prisoners, immediately took place; and that tranquillity which the French already enjoyed in Europe, Africa, and America, was now extended to their tottering settlements and war-worn veterans in Asia.

Chapter the Forty-Fifth.

THE CAISSE D'ESCOMPTE STOPS PAYMENT—RESTORED AGAIN TO CREDIT—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE EMPEROR AND THE REPUBLIC OF HOLLAND—CLAIM OF THE FORMER TO THE NAVIGATION OF THE SCHELDE—THE LATTER PROTECTED BY FRANCE—PREPARATIONS FOR WAR—MEDIATION OF FRANCE SUCCESSFUL—TREATY OF ALLIANCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND HOLLAND—MONSIEUR DE CALONNE APPOINTED TO THE OFFICE OF COMPTROLLER - GENERAL — ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CAISSE D'AMORTISSEMENT, OR SINKING FUND—OF A NEW EAST INDIA COMPANY—DEFICIENCY OF THE PUBLIC REVENUE—DEATH OF THE COUNT DE VERGENNES—ASSEMBLY OF THE NOTABLES—SPLENDID PROJECT OF MONSIEUR DE CALONNE TO EQUALIZE THE NATIONAL BURTHENS—OPPOSED BY THE ARCHBISHOP OF TOULOUSE AND THE COUNT DE MIRABEAU — DISSATISFACTION OF THE PRINCIPAL NOBILITY, CLERGY, AND MA-

MAGISTRATES—MONSIEUR DE CALONNE RESIGNS THE OFFICE OF COMPTROLLER-GENERAL, AND RETIRES TO ENGLAND.

THE preliminary articles which A. D. 1783. had been signed at Versailles, were soon after succeeded by a definitive treaty; and France, throughout her extensive dominions, beheld peace once more established. Though the late war had been attended by the most brilliant success, and the independence of America struck deep at the source of her rival's power, yet she herself had not entirely been free from inconvenience; the retreat of monsieur Necker from the management of the finances, had, as we have already observed, diminished the public confidence; three different persons, who since his resignation had transiently occupied the post of comptroller general, increased the jealousies of the people; and the failure of the celebrated Caisse d'Escompte, completed the universal consternation.

That bank had been established in the year seventeen hundred and seventy-six. The plan was formed by a company of private adventurers, and its capital was fixed at five hundred thousand pounds sterling. Its professed design was to discount

count bills at short dates, at the rate of four per cent. per annum; but as this interest could never be an equivalent for the capital sunk by the proprietors, they were entrusted with the additional power of issuing notes to the amount of their capital, which, as they were capable at any time of being converted into specie, might be often voluntarily taken by their customers from mere convenience. The reputation of the bank soon caused its stock to sell above par; and its credit was still at the highest, when to the astonishment of the nation, the second day of October it suddenly stopped payment. The cause assigned was an uncommon scarcity of specie; but the public imagined that the failure originated in a loan secretly made to government; and what confirmed the suspicion was, that government, about the same time, stopped payment of the bills drawn upon them by their army in America.

Whatever was the source of this event, the king was prevailed on to extend his protection to the failing company; four successive edicts were published by administration tending to relieve the distress under which it laboured; by these the banks in Paris were ordered to receive the notes of the Caisse d'Escompte as currency; a lottery with a stock of one million sterling, redeemable in eight years, was also established, and the tick-
ets

ers were made purchasable in notes of the Caisse d'Escompte; by these expedients the public confidence in that bank was again revived, its business increased, and its stock rose to a surprising amount, above double the original subscription; the bills from America were at the same time put in a train of payment, and public credit was happily restored throughout the kingdom.

Some compensation for the expences that had been incurred during the late war, was drawn from a treaty with the United States of America. These engaged to reimburse France in the sum of eighteen millions of livres, which had been advanced in the hour of their distress, and Lewis consented to receive the money, as more convenient to the States, in the space of twelve years, by twelve equal and annual payments.

With the return of peace, it might naturally have been expected that France would have delivered herself from the heavy demands occasioned by her numerous armies; yet instead of disbanding her forces, she continued diligently to fill up all deficiencies; and her military establishment in the midst of tranquillity, rivalled that which was collected for a state of professed hostility; nor could this afford astonishment to her neighbours, since the peace of Europe was already menaced by restless ambition and the insatiate lust of dominion.

The emperor of Germany had long cherished the hope of wresting from the Dutch the principal fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, which had been deposited in their hands at the conclusion of the succession war, for the mutual security of the court of Vienna, and themselves. The advantages of this arrangement had been repeatedly experienced during the succeeding depression of the house of Austria; but the present emperor felt his own power fully competent to the protection of his dominions; and he thought it derogatory to his honor, that a number of his principal cities should be garrisoned, and at his own expence too, by foreigners; he availed himself of the juncture when Great Britain, the guardian of the barrier, was become the enemy of Holland, and extorted from the distress of the States a reluctant compliance. The Dutch garrisons and artillery were silently withdrawn from the barrier towns; and the emperor's order for dismantling the fortresses was immediately executed.

Though France, bound to the emperor by ties of alliance, friendship, and blood, had tacitly acquiesced in this claim, yet the court of Versailles did not regard with equal indifference his pretensions to the free navigation of the Schelde. That court for some years had been divided into two parties, and the most distinguished characters were the

the count de Vergennes, and the marshal de Castries; the former, who had long resided at the Ottoman Porte, and was celebrated for his address in negociation, possessed the confidence of Lewis, who himself mild and humane, admired those talents in his minister which had been displayed in the restoration of peace; the latter, who had succeeded monsieur de Sartine in the marine department, was bold and enterprising, and had continually stood forth the advocate of war; he was supported by the queen, who, intelligent, active, and fond of public business, aspired to dispose of every lucrative or honorary appointment, and afforded no indifferent contrast to the mild indolence of her royal consort.

Though Holland had in some measure been deserted at the conclusion of the peace, yet the protection the republic had received from France during the war, was strongly enforced by the faction in the interest of the court of Versailles, and which, known by the name of the Louvestein party, consisted of the hereditary enemies of the Orange family. Their ascendancy was become open and uncontrouled; they pursued with a degree of political violence, the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbuttle, field marshal of the Dutch forces, and intimately connected with the house of Orange; the duke con-

sidered it as most prudent to bend before the storm; he resigned the offices that he had been entrusted with; and the aristocratic party having thus established their triumph over their domestic enemies, depended on the friendship of France for protection against their foreign foes.

The immediate consequence fully justified the confidence they had placed in their new ally. The emperor, encouraged by the facility with which he had achieved the demolition of the Dutch barrier, now extended his pretensions to a free navigation beyond fort Lillo, as far as the land of Seftingen, several miles up the Schelde; and insisted that the guardship that had been usually stationed by the States at fort Lillo, should be immediately withdrawn.

An acquiescence with this demand would have struck at the root of the wealth and power of the United States of Holland; the city of Antwerp, formerly renowned for its commerce, and still celebrated for its opulence, was situated on the banks of the Schelde; and Spain, the former sovereign of Antwerp, while she considered the greatness and opulence of that city as inconsistent with her views of despotism, had concurred with the avarice of Holland in shutting up the Schelde; trade thus diverted, had flowed into different channels; and Amsterdam, though long before considerable,

derable, had from that period risen on the ruins of Antwerp to be the first commercial city in Europe.

Her inhabitants therefore could not be indifferent to pretensions which so materially affected their interests. Memorials and remonstrances had in vain been presented; in vain did they insist that the whole course of the two branches of the Schelde, which passed within the dominions of Holland, was entirely artificial; that it was formed by, and owed its existence to, the hands of Dutchmen; that its banks were the produce of ages of incessant labour; and that they were still maintained at a great and constant expence; that if it had not been for those standing monuments of Dutch enterprise, those admirable dykes which excite the astonishment of mankind, the waters of the Schelde stagnating in immense marshes and shallow lakes, had never reached the sea in any distinct or sufficient portion for navigation. And to these claims of natural right was to be added a series of treaties which fortified them in the most express and solemn terms in the exclusive possession of the Schelde. To disarm their formidable enemy by submission, they also removed the obnoxious guardship at Lillo, and rejected the proposal of repairing the works of Maestricht, a fortress to which the emperor had

urged his claim, lest its being adopted at such a season should give umbrage to that prince.

But the arguments and pacific measures of the states were equally disregarded by the emperor, and even the mediation of France was listened to with cold indifference; a brig was directed to proceed down the Schelde from Antwerp to the sea, and his imperial majesty declared that he would consider the first insult offered to his flag on this occasion, as an act of formal hostility, and a declaration of war on the part of the republic; the brig was however stopped by the Dutch naval officer; on the Austrian commander resuming his course, some shot, though without any fatal consequence to the crew, compelled him to desist; and he was detained for some days by the Dutch admiral at the mouth of the Schelde.

From this moment the seeds of discontent seemed to ripen; the imperial ambassador was recalled from the Hague, and all negociation was suspended; an army of sixty thousand men was under orders for marching from the Austrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands; and immense trains of artillery, and all the other apparatus of war were put in motion; the republic, alarmed at these menacing appearances, now redoubled their solicitations to the court of Versailles; the dismissal of the duke of Brunswick obliged

obliged the States to apply to France for a general, whose abilities and experience might enable him to conduct their arms with effect in the war they expected; and Lewis granted to their distress the count de Maillebois, an officer of undoubted talents, who had seen much service in the late reign, but whose jealousy of mareschal d'Estrees, in the last German war, had precipitated him into intrigues, which had drawn upon him a severe censure from the tribunal of the mareschals of France.

But the king confined not his friendship to the republic within the narrow limits of recommending a commander; the Prussian monarch was equally interested with Lewis in resisting the pretensions of the emperor; prince Henry of Prussia, at this critical juncture, made a long visit at the court of Versailles; from that moment the count de Vergennes expostulated with the court of Vienna with more freedom and in less equivocal terms. To give weight to his negociations, the standing forces of France were silently and gradually thrown into quarters on the borders of Alsace, Lorrain, and the Low Countries; and orders were given to form a camp of eighty thousand men in the plains of Lens, which had been rendered memorable by one of the great Condé's most splendid victories.

The emperor, though apprised of the numerous enemies that he must encounter, still appeared inflexible in the prosecution of his design; and the queen of France could not be insensible to a contest which involved her nearest and dearest connections, and armed the hand of her consort against her brother. On the morning when a grand council was to be held, the result of which was to be conclusive in respect to the part that France should take, if the emperor persisted in his pretensions against Holland, that princess took an opportunity of meeting monsieur de Vergennes before he entered the cabinet, and desired that he would not on that day forget that the emperor was her brother; the minister replied that he certainly should not; but that he was bound likewise to remember that the king of France was her husband, and the dauphin her son.

The ability and firmness of that statesman was the effectual security of the republic; and while the mind of the emperor was supposed to be entirely occupied by the navigation of the Schelde, the world was astonished by his opening a new source of jealousy and discord in Germany. With a levity which for ever extinguished his reputation as a politician, he now meditated to exchange for the duchy of Bavaria the Austrian Netherlands;

lands; those very Netherlands, upon whose account he seemed at the point of encountering all the hazards of a war, the consequences of which, as had been strongly urged by the court of Versailles, could not even be calculated. Though this project was baffled by the firm and formidable interposition of the king of Prussia, the diversion that it occasioned allowed Holland leisure to recover from its first surprise; it enabled France to complete her preparations; and facilitated the negociations of the count de Vergennes.

Instead of overwhelming in his career a distracted and defenceless multitude, the emperor perceived he must have encountered a people stubborn by nature, and highly irritated by a sense of the injuries and indignities that had been imposed on them; they were also supported by an ally, whose friendship it was his interest to conciliate, and whose power, even single, had more than once menaced to subvert the house of Austria. He now assumed a more moderate language, and to the deputies of the republic, who professed their respect for his imperial majesty, answered, that he should order his ambassador at Paris to resume the negociations, under the mediation of his brother the king of France; and he did not doubt but a speedy conclusion would prevent

vent the unhappy occurrences which must be the unavoidable consequence of a farther delay.

The address and abilities of the count de Vergennes contributed to remove every obstruction, and under his auspices the preliminary articles of peace were signed at Paris about the middle of September; and two months afterwards the definitive treaty was subscribed at Fontainebleau, under the guarantee of his most christian majesty.

The treaty of Munster was laid down as the basis of the present, and its stipulations to be in all cases binding, where they were not expressly excepted by the new clauses. The principal articles were, that the States acknowledged the emperor's independent sovereignty over every part of the Schelde, from Antwerp to the limits of the county of Sessingen; they bound themselves not to interrupt in any manner the commerce or navigation of his subjects thereon; but that the rest of the river beyond those limits to the sea, with the canals of the Sas, the Swin, and other neighbouring mouths of the sea, were to continue under the sovereignty of the States-general; they agreed to evacuate and demolish the forts of Kruischens, and Frederic Henry, and cede the territories to his imperial majesty; they also submitted to his discretion the forts of Lillo and of Liefkenshoek, with
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the fortifications in their present condition, only reserving to themselves the right of withdrawing the artillery and ammunition. They also stipulated to pay his imperial majesty the sum of nine millions and an half of florins in the current money of Holland, in lieu of all his rights and pretensions on Maestricht and its adjacent territories; and half a million more as an indemnification to his subjects for the damages they had sustained from the inundations when the dyke near Lillo had been broken down by the Dutch.

While the count de Vergennes acquired the glory of having conducted this delicate negotiation, he was not inattentive to the immediate interests of his own court. In two days after the treaty of peace between the emperor and Holland had been signed, a new treaty of alliance between France and that republic was likewise concluded and finally ratified; the stipulations were such as might have been expected from the gratitude of the States, and the address of the court of Versailles. It included all the principles which can serve to bind or cement, in the closest and most indissoluble union, distinct nations under distinct governments; and by which they may mutually participate, in peace or in war, of good or of evil; and in all cases administer the most perfect aid, counsel, and succour to each other.

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It also prescribed, if their united good offices for the preservation of peace should prove ineffectual, the assistance they were to impart to each other by sea and land; France was to furnish Holland with ten thousand effective infantry, two thousand cavalry, with twelve ships of the line and six frigates; and their high mightinesses, in case of a marine war, or that France should be attacked by sea, were to contribute to her defence six ships of the line and three frigates; and in case of an attack on the territory of France, the States-general were to have the option of furnishing their land contingent either in money or troops, at the estimate of five thousand infantry, and one thousand cavalry; and if the stipulated succours should be insufficient for the defence of the party attacked, or for procuring a proper peace, they engaged to assist each other with all their forces, if necessary; it being however agreed that the contingent of troops to be furnished by the States-general should not exceed twenty thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry.

It was also added, that neither of the contracting powers should disarm, or make, or receive proposals of peace or truce, without the consent of the other; they promised also not to contract any future alliance or engagement whatever, directly or indirectly, contrary to the present treaty;
and

and on any treaties or negotiations being proposed, which might prove detrimental to their joint interest, they pledged their faith to give notice to each other of such proposals as soon as made.

Thus was Holland, after beholding for above a century her fertile fields ravaged and her cities assaulted by the ambition of the house of Bourbon, now become the firm ally of that power against whose encroaching spirit she had formerly armed the most powerful kingdoms of Europe; while France having asserted the independence of America against Great Britain, having rescued the States general from the restless rapacity of the house of Austria, and having converted an ancient and formidable foe into an useful friend, seemed to have attained an influence over the nations of the earth that she had never been possessed of from the first foundations of her monarchy.

But however exalted her present situation might appear, the seeds of future commotion were already apparent to the eye of an accurate observer; the applause that had attended the parliament of Paris in their struggles with Lewis the Fifteenth, might be considered as the first dawn of freedom; the language of that assembly had boldly inculcated to their countrymen their natural

tural rights, and taught them to look with a more steady eye on the lustre that hitherto had encompassed the throne. The war with America had contributed to enlarge the political ideas of the French; they had on that occasion stood forth as the champions of liberty, in opposition to regal power; and the officers who had acted on that conspicuous stage, accustomed to think and speak without restraint, on their return imparted the glorious flame to the provinces of France, which had been kindled in the wilds of America; from that moment the French, instead of silently acquiescing under the edicts of their sovereign, canvassed each action with bold and rigid impartiality; while the attachment of the army, which has ever been considered as the sole foundation of despotism, gave way to an enthusiastic admiration of freedom.

We have already noticed the public dissatisfaction that had attended the dismissal of monsieur Necker; his transient successor, monsieur de Fleury, had retired from the management of the finances in eighty-three, and the more transient administration of monsieur d'Ormesson had expired in the same year that gave birth to it. On his retreat monsieur de Calonne, who had successively filled with acknowledged reputation the office of intendant of Metz, and afterwards of the provinces

province of Flanders and Artois, was nominated to the post of comptroller-general; flexible and insinuating, eloquent in conversation and polished in his manners, fertile in resources and liberal in the disposal of the public money, he soon rendered himself acceptable to the court, and acquired the favour of his sovereign. But he did not enter upon his new and arduous station favoured by the breath of popularity; he was reported to be more able than consistent, and not to have tempered the ardour of his spirit by the severity of deep research; and the people, amidst repeated loans, regretted that severe simplicity which had characterized the administration of monsieur Necker.

Yet the first operations of monsieur Calonne had extorted the general ap- A. D. 1784.
probation; and it was his bold and judicious measures that had restored credit to the Caisse d'Escompte, the only incorporated banking company in France, and which had stopped payment a few weeks before his accession. In the establishments of the Caisse d'Amortissement, or sinking fund, he still merited a higher degree of applause. The plan of that fund was simple and moderate; it was to pay annually by government, into the hands of a board set apart for that purpose, the entire interest of the national debts, whether in
stock

stock or annuities, together with an additional sum of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds. The annuities that would be extinguished every year were estimated at fifty thousand pounds; and in that proportion, the sum set apart for the redemption of the national debt, would annually encrease. The operation of this new fund was limited to the term of twenty-five years; and during that term the annual receipt of the *Caissé d'Amortissement* is declared unalterable, and incapable of being diverted to any other object.

From the discussion of these new regulations of finance, the public attention was directed to the conduct of those officers who, during the course of the war, had been entrusted with the naval forces of France. A council of war, which had been commissioned to try the count de Grasse, and other captains of the fleet defeated by admiral Rodney, honorably acquitted the commander with the majority of the officers, and slightly censured a few, among whom was monsieur Bougainville, who had acquired a distinguished reputation in exploring new coasts, and navigating the most distant recesses of the ocean.

If the personal gallantry of the count de Grasse, though unfortunate, could secure him an honorable acquittal, the successful courage and conduct of monsieur de Suffrein could not fail of commanding

manding the most flattering reception. All ranks and orders of men vied with each other in marks of gratitude and attachment to the man who had so nobly sustained the glory of the French flag, and who had shewed his countrymen the way to conquest on an element which had so repeatedly witnessed their defeat and disgrace. The compliment which was paid him by the queen, whether considered as a mark of the sensibility of her character, or the elegance of her taste, cannot be unacceptable to the reader. Introducing him to the dauphin, a boy of three years old, she added, "this is monsieur de Suffrein, to whom we owe the greatest obligations; observe him well, and remember his name; it is one of the first of those that you must learn to repeat, in order that you may never forget it."

During the last year, if the conduct of monsieur Calonne had not attached- A. D. 1785.
ed popularity to his administration, it yet might defy censure; but the principal measure of the year eighty-five was not equally guarded from reproach. From the year seventeen hundred and seventy-three France had been without an East India company; and though the idea of a free trade to that part of the world had hitherto been untried in Europe, she did not appear to suffer in the experiment; on the contrary, her annual im-
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portation from India during this time was considerably greater than during any former period. Yet not content with the silent profit that thus accrued to the public, the court was induced to listen to proposals for establishing a new East-India Company; their privilege was for seven years, with the special proviso, that years of war which should occur in the interim, should be excluded from the computation.

In the preamble of the act by which the scheme was adopted, it was asserted, “ that the
“ commodities of Europe not having of late been
“ regulated by any common standard, or pro-
“ portioned to the demands of India, had on the
“ one hand sold at a low price, while on the
“ other, the competition of the subjects of France
“ had raised the price of the objects of importa-
“ tion; that upon their return home, a want of
“ system and assortment had been universally
“ complained of, the market being glutted with
“ one species of goods, and totally destitute of
“ another; that these defects must necessarily
“ continue as long as the trade remained in pri-
“ vate hands; and that on these accounts, as well
“ as of the capital required, the establishment of
“ a new company was absolutely necessary.”

These reasonings appeared by no means satisfactory to the persons principally interested; it
was

was remarked, that the arguments of the preamble did not apply more to the trade of India than to any other trade; and that if they were admitted in their entire force, they were calculated to give a finishing blow to the freedom of commerce. A provision in the act directing that the prices of East India goods in the islands of Mauritius and Bourbon should be regulated by a tariff to be fixed by the court of Versailles, excited still louder exclamations; in this instance it was said, that the first principles of commerce were trampled upon in a manner the most wanton and absurd; instead of suffering it to find its own level, by the mutual collision of the wants of one party, and the labour of another, it was arbitrarily to be fashioned by a power, whose extreme distance must naturally render its decisions ill-timed and inapplicable. The very mode in which the monopoly was introduced was a subject of complaint; it was determined by a resolution of the king in council; a proceeding totally inadequate to the importance of the subject, and which was to be regarded as clandestine and surreptitious. In all former instances such measures had assumed the form of edicts, and were registered in the parliaments; it was the prerogative of these courts to verify them; that is, to enquire into the facts that had led to the adoption. The injured parties had

an opportunity of being heard before the privilege assumed the form of a law; not privately by the ministers of the sovereign, but publicly by the most considerable bodies in the kingdom, and in the face of the nation.

Such were the free and animated strictures with which the establishment of a new East India Company was attended; nor could it escape observation, that the writers of the day had not only assumed a bolder and more independent style, but that they were desirous of reviving the pretensions of parliament, and of raising the tribunal of that assembly above the will of the crown.

To monsieur de Calonne these discussions were far from favourable; and the time was now rapidly approaching, when the necessities of the state would compel him to measures still more unpopular, and destined to undergo a severer scrutiny; though peace had been re-established throughout Europe for three years, yet the finances of France seemed scarce affected by this interval of tranquillity, and it was found requisite to close every year with a loan; the public expenditure of the year eighty-five might probably seem to sanction this measure. It had been thought proper to fortify Cherbourg upon a large and magnificent scale; the claim of the emperor to the navigation of the Schelde, had obliged the
French

French to increase their land forces, either to form a respectable neutrality, or to assist effectually their Dutch allies; and the marquis de Castries, fond of war, and profuse in his designs, had not suffered the navy, which monsieur Sartine had surrendered into his hands, to moulder away during the interval of peace.

The treaty of commerce concluded this year with Great Britain was a new source of discontent; though regarded by the English manufacturers as far from advantageous, it excited in France still louder murmurs, and was criticised with an uncommon degree of asperity. It was considered as likely to extinguish those infant establishments which were yet unable to vie with the manufactures of England, that had attained to maturity; and the market that it held out for the wines and oils of France was passed over in silence, while the distress of the artisan was painted in the most striking and lively colours.

But when the edict for registering the loan at the conclusion of the last year, and which amounted to the sum of three millions three hundred and thirty thousand pounds, was presented to the parliament of Paris, the murmurs of the people, seconded by that assembly, assumed a more legal and formidable form. The

king however signified to the select deputation that was commissioned to convey to him their remonstrances, that he expected to be obeyed without farther delay ; accordingly the ceremony of the registering took place on the next day ; but was accompanied with a resolution, importing that public œconomy was the only genuine source of abundant revenue, the only means of providing for the necessities of the state, and restoring that credit, which borrowing had reduced to the brink of ruin.

This proceeding was no sooner known than the king required the attendance of the grand deputation of Parliament ; he erased from their records the resolution that had been adopted ; and observed, though it was his pleasure that the parliament should communicate by its respectful representations whatever might interest the good of the public, yet he never would consent that they should so far abuse his confidence and clemency as to erect themselves into the censors of his administration ; he expected in future that they should confine their expressions within the limits of wisdom and loyalty ; he declared himself satisfied with the conduct of the comptroller-general, and determined on no account to suffer groundless apprehensions to interfere with the plans calculated for the good of the state and the ease of the nation ; and more strongly to mark his displeasure at their expostulations, he directed the dismissal
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from further service, of one of their officers, who had appeared most active in forwarding the late resolution.

Though the approbation and support of his sovereign was doubtless highly gratifying to monsieur de Calonne, yet he could not fail of feeling himself deeply mortified by the opposition of the parliament; his address to conciliate that assembly had proved ineffectual, and he experienced their inflexible aversion at the critical juncture when their acquiescence might have proved of the most essential service. An anxious enquiry into the state of the public finances, had convinced him that the expenditure by far exceeded the revenue; in the present situation, to impose new taxes was impossible, to continue the method of borrowing was ruinous, and to have recourse only to æconomical reforms, would be found wholly inadequate; and he hesitated not to declare that it would be impossible to place the finances on a solid basis, but by the reformation of whatever was vicious in the constitution of the state.

To give weight to this reform, the minister was sensible that something more was necessary than the royal authority; he perceived that the parliament was neither a fit instrument for introducing a new order into public affairs, nor would submit to be a passive machine for sanctioning the

plans of a minister, even if those plans were the emanations of perfect wisdom. Though originally a body of lawyers, indebted for their appointments to the king, there was not an attribute of genuine legislative assembly that they did not seem desirous to engross to themselves; and they had been supported in their pretensions by the plaudits of the people, who were sensible that there was no other body in the nation that could plead their cause against royal oppression; to suppress therefore the only power of control that remained, and to render the government more arbitrary, was deemed by the comptroller-general a measure of too much hardihood; yet to leave the parliament in the full possession of their influence, an influence that he was convinced would be exerted against him, was at once to render his whole system abortive.

Under these circumstances, the only alternative that seemed to remain was to have recourse to some other assembly, more dignified and solemn in its character, and that should consist in a greater degree of members from the various orders of the state, and the different provinces of the kingdom. This promised to be a popular measure; it implied a deference to the people at large, and might be expected to prove greatly acceptable; but the true and legitimate assembly of the nation,
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the states general, had not met since the year sixteen hundred and fourteen; nor could the minister flatter himself with the hope of obtaining the royal assent to a meeting which a despotic sovereign could not but regard with secret jealousy. Another assembly had occasionally been substituted in the room of the states general; this was distinguished by the title of the *Notables*, and consisted of a number of persons from all parts of the kingdom, chiefly selected from the higher orders of the state, and nominated by the king himself. This assembly had been convened by Henry the Fourth, and again by Lewis the Thirteenth; and was now once more summoned by the authority of the present monarch.

The writs for calling together the assembly of the notables were dated on the twenty-ninth of December eighty-six; they were addressed to seven princes of the blood, nine dukes and peers of France, eight field marshals, twenty-two nobles, eight counsellors of state, four masters of requests, eleven archbishops and bishops, thirty-seven of the heads of the law, twelve deputies of the *pays d'états*, the lieutenant civil, and twenty-five magistrates of the different towns of the kingdom. The number of members was one hundred and forty-four; and the twenty-ninth of January
eighty-

eighty-seven was the period appointed for their opening.

A. D. 1787. It was at the moment when the members of the notables had arrived at Paris, and that the attention of all classes in the kingdom was fixed upon their meeting as an important æra in the national history, that the minister found himself yet unprepared to submit his system to their inspection, and postponed the opening of the council to the seventh of February. This delay was injudicious in the highest degree; politics had occupied the minds of men, particularly in the metropolis, to the exclusion of every other subject; some of the plans of the comptroller general had not been entirely concealed; and it was natural that they should engage the premature reflections of the notables, forced from their usual employments, and left without any other occupation for their leisure; yet it was the design of the minister rather to dazzle their imagination, than to derive information from their debates; and he well knew if once they proceeded to doubt, they would assume the guise of a legislature, instead of a council of state, a circumstance the farthest from his intentions.

A second delay to the fourteenth of the same month was occasioned by the indisposition of monsieur de Calonne himself, and that of the
count

count de Vergennes, president of the council of finance, and first secretary of state; and a third procrastination was the necessary result of the death of the count on the day previous to that fixed for the opening of the meeting. He was succeeded in the department of foreign affairs by the count de Montmorin, a nobleman of unblemished character. But his loss at this critical juncture was severely felt by the comptroller general; he alone of all the ministers had entered with warmth and sincerity into the plans of monsieur de Calonne. Monsieur de Miromesnil, keeper of the seals, was avowedly the rival and enemy of that statesman. The marshal de Castries, secretary for the marine department, was personally attached to Mr. Necker, and preferred the interests of friendship to considerations which might otherwise have engaged his support; and the baron de Breteuil, secretary for the household, was the creature of the queen, and deeply engaged in what was called the Austrian system.

It was under these difficulties that monsieur de Calonne, on the twenty-second of February, first met the assembly of the notables, and opened his long expected plan. He began by stating that the public expenditure had for centuries past exceeded the revenue, and that a very considerable deficiency

deficiency had of course existed; that the Mississippi scheme of seventeen hundred and twenty, had by no means, as might have been expected, restored the balance; that under the æconomical administration of cardinal Fleuri the deficit still existed; that the progress of this derangement under the last reign had been extreme; at the appointment of the abbé Terray it had amounted to three millions sterling; that minister had reduced it to one million six hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds; it became somewhat less under the short administrations that followed; it rose again in consequence of the war, under the administration of monsieur Necker; and at his own accession to office, it was three millions three hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

To remedy this evil the comptroller general recommended a territorial impost, in the nature of the English land tax, from which no rank or order of men were to be exempted; an enquiry into the possessions of the clergy, which hitherto had been deemed sacred, from their proportion of the public burthens; the various branches of internal taxation were also to undergo a strict examination; and a considerable resource was presented in mortgaging the demesne lands of the crown.

The very necessity for these reforms was combated with a degree of boldness and depth of reasoning

reasoning that could not fail of strongly impressing the assembly ; and from the hope of ready acquiescence, the minister was now launched into the boundless ocean of political controversy. Before monsieur Necker retired from the management of the finances, he had published his *Compte rendu au Roi*, in which France was represented as possessing a clear surplus of four hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling ; this performance had been read with avidity, and had been regarded as an æra in the history of France ; it probably contributed to estrange from the author the royal countenance ; but the credit of it was ably vindicated by monsieur de Brienne, archbishop of Thoulouse, a prelate eloquent and ambitious, and the passionate advocate and admirer of monsieur Necker.

A still more formidable adversary presented himself to the comptroller general in the count de Mirabeau. This extraordinary man, restless in his disposition, licentious in his morals, but bold, penetrating, and enterprising, had occasionally visited every court in Europe. He had been admitted at one time to the confidence of the minister, and had been directed, though in no ostensible character, to observe at Berlin the disposition of the successor of the great Frederic ; in this capacity he was frequently exposed to neglect and disappointment ;

pointment; his letters were often left unanswered; disgust quickly succeeded to admiration; and he who had entered the Prussian court the intimate friend, returned to Paris the avowed enemy, of monsieur de Calonne; while the archbishop of Thoulouse arraigned the understanding, the count de Mirabeau impeached the integrity of the comptroller general; he hesitated not to rank him among those who preferred their fortune to their honour; and who had augmented their wealth by the most dishonourable speculations in the funds; he added, that all his operations bore the stamp of despotism and personal interest; and he called upon the notables to address their sovereign in the honest language of truth; “let them tell him, said he, that a man, who was estranged to every principle of good faith, of fidelity in engagements, of respect to property, was unfit to remain at the helm of commerce, of contracts, and of law. Let them tell him, that pliancy of spirit, facility of study, correctness of style, the elegance of his preambles, the charms of his elocution, were but so many new crimes in a minister, who developed with skill the principles of an honest policy, and eluded and insulted them in his practice.”

The eloquence of monsieur de Calonne might have successfully vindicated his system and reputation

tation against the calculations of Brienne, and the invectives of Mirabeau ; but the genius of the comptroller general sunk under the influence of the three great bodies of the nation ; the grand and essential object of reform, was to equalize the public burthens, and by rendering the taxes general, to diminish the load of the lower and most useful classes of the people. The ancient nobility and the clergy had ever been free from all public assessments ; and had the evil gone no further, it might have been still perhaps borne with patience ; but through the shameful custom of selling patents of nobility, such crowds of new noblesse started up, that every province in the kingdom was filled with them ; the first object with those who had acquired fortunes rapidly, was to purchase a patent, which, besides gratifying their vanity, afforded an exemption to them and their posterity from contributing proportionably to the exigences of the state ; the magistracies likewise throughout the kingdom enjoyed their share of these exemptions ; so that the whole weight of the taxes fell on those who were least able to bear them.

The design of equalizing the public burthens, though undoubtedly great, thus united against the minister, the nobility, the clergy, and the magistracy, and the event was such as might have
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been expected ; the intrigues of those three bodies raised against him so loud a clamour, that finding it impossible to stem the torrent, monsieur de Ca-
lonne not only resigned his place on the twelfth of April, but soon after retired to England from the storm of persecution ; yet one ray of royal favour still gilded the evening of his administration ; and his rival, monsieur de Miromesnil, received at the same time orders to resign the seals.

Chapter the Forty-sixth.

DISTURBANCES IN HOLLAND—INEFFECTUAL
MEDIATION OF THE COURTS OF VERSAILLES
AND BERLIN—OUTRAGES OF THE REPUBLICAN
PARTY—THE PRINCESS OF ORANGE DE-
TAINED—THE KING OF PRUSSIA DEMANDS
SATISFACTION—THE PRUSSIANS INVADE HOL-
LAND—CONSTERNATION OF THE REPUBLICAN
PARTY—AMSTERDAM CAPITULATES—
ATTEMPT OF THE KING OF FRANCE TO SUP-
PORT THE REPUBLICANS—PREPARATIONS FOR
WAR—THE COURTS OF VERSAILLES AND GREAT
BRITAIN CONSENT TO DISARM—DOMESTIC
CONCERNS OF FRANCE—ARCHBISHOP OF THOU-
LOUSE APPOINTED COMPTROLLER GENERAL
—ASSEMBLY OF NOTABLES DISSOLVED—THE
PARLIAMENT OF PARIS REFUSE TO REGISTER
THE NEW TAXES—ARE BANISHED TO TROYES
—ARE RECALLED—OPPOSE THE EDICT FOR A
LOAN—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS EXILED, AND
TWO MEMBERS IMPRISONED—STRONG RE-
MONSTRANCES OF THE PARLIAMENT—THE

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DUKE OF ORLEANS RECALLED—THE PARLIAMENT PRESENT NEW REMONSTRANCES—CONVENTION OF THE NOTABLES—PROPOSAL TO ESTABLISH THE COUR PLENIERE—OPPOSITION TO THAT MEASURE—ARRET FOR SUMMONING THE STATES-GENERAL—MEETING OF THAT ASSEMBLY—CONCLUSION OF THE HISTORY OF FRANCE.

WHILE the mind of Lewis was assiduously occupied by the rising spirit of discontent at home, the republic of Holland, his new and close ally, presented a scene of anarchy and faction that demanded his most serious attention. The prince of Orange had been stripped of all authority by the aristocratic party, and retiring from the Hague, maintained the shadow of a court at Nimeguen; yet feeble as his influence might appear in the United Provinces, he was still formidable from his powerful connections. His brother-in-law, the new king of Prussia, for Frederic the Great had closed his long and splendid career, was indefatigable in his endeavours to promote the interests of the stadtholder; and had offered, in concert with France, to undertake the arduous task of composing the differences which distracted

distracted the republic ; the proposal was received with apparent cordiality by the court of Versailles ; and monsieur de Rayneval, who had already acquired considerable credit in negotiation, particularly in concluding the late treaty of commerce with England, was appointed to be the representative of Lewis in the office of mediation.

Notwithstanding these pacific measures, it could scarce be expected that France would become the instrument of restoring the prince of Orange to that share of weight and power which he had before occupied in the republic ; and thus abandon one of the longest and dearest objects of her policy, the establishing a supreme and permanent controul in the affairs of Holland ; the conditions that were framed by the Louvestein faction as the basis of reconciliation, were such as plainly implied their design to contract the influence and authority of the stadtholder within very narrow limits ; on his renouncing his right of filling up the occasional vacancies in the town senates, he was to be restored to the nominal office of captain-general ; but he was to be restrained from marching the troops into or out of any province, without leave from the respective provinces concerned ; and he was also to subscribe a resolution, past some time before by the senate of Am-

sterdam, that the command should at all times be revocable at the pleasure of the states.

Had the prince of Orange acquiesced in these preliminaries, France would have completely attained the object of her long negotiations, and by means of the Louvestein faction have acquired the ascendancy that she had repeatedly sought in the councils of Holland; but however unequal the prince of Orange might be considered to the difficulties that surrounded him, every deficiency was supplied by the genius, the spirit, and the abilities of his royal consort; she pertinaciously refused to give up any rights that had been attached to the office of stadtholder; and monsieur de Rayneval having in vain endeavoured to overcome her inflexible resolution, broke off the correspondence between the Hague and Nimcguen, and returned to Paris about the middle of January eighty-seven.

A. D. 1787. It was about this time that the republican party brought forward the proposal of suspending the prince of Orange from his offices of stadtholder and admiral general; the question was agitated with the utmost warmth and acrimony for two successive days; but those who had proposed it found the opposition so formidable, and the aspect of the independent mem-
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bers so doubtful, that they did not choose to hazard the decision of a vote.

To this defeat it is not improbable that the absence of Van Berkel, the first pensionary of Amsterdam, in a great measure contributed; this man had long been the leader and soul of the republican party, and was well qualified by his various talents for that lofty situation; his ambition was boundless; but his love of power was still exceeded by his lust of wealth; and tempted by the emoluments of office, he had sacrificed his influence at home to the lucrative appointment of representing the republic as minister to the United States of America.

The absence of this celebrated demagogue, though it embarrassed the counsels, did not extinguish the zeal and spirit of his party. They were convinced that their power could only be retained by prompt and decisive measures. In the senate of Amsterdam their influence daily diminished; in that of Rotterdam they had been outvoted by a considerable majority; the provinces of Zealand, Friesland, Utrecht, and Guelderland, had evinced the strongest inclination towards the prince of Orange; and the small provinces of Groningen and Overijssel alone remained firmly attached to them. Thus, already tottering, they had recourse to the restless multitude; associa-

tions were formed, and large sums of money subscribed ; and the burghers, provided with arms, soon proceeded to acts of open outrage. At Rotterdam they surrounded the senate house, compelled the senate to depose seven of their body, whom they considered as most adverse to their designs ; and veiling their violence under the form of an election, they filled the vacant places with seven of the most zealous of their own party ; and as the degraded senators comprised the deputies of the city in the assembly of the provincial states, the representation of Rotterdam was of course totally changed.

On the very same day that the senate of Rotterdam was purged in this manner by the armed burghers, similar measures were pursued by their brethren at Amsterdam. They surrounded the senate house early in the morning ; and the affrighted magistrates entered into a negotiation with them, which was spun out until the evening, when finding they had no alternative, they were obliged to submit to the demands of the populace, by declaring that nine members of their body, whom the republican party had proscribed, had abdicated their offices. Among these victims to the revolution, were three deputies to the assembly of the provincial states, who had lately voted on some occasion on the side of the stadtholder.

holder. At the same time that they were clearing the senate of their adversaries, the four colonels of the city militia, and consequently the only legal commanders of the burghers, were doomed to undergo their persecution, and obliged to send in their resignations.

The court of Versailles had hitherto reason to exult in the success of their party; the republican faction seemed every where triumphant, and the trembling adherents of the prince of Orange, each moment expected to be overwhelmed by the headlong torrent; but the turbulent disposition of the people had at length aroused from their lethargy the states-general, who, accustomed solely to guard the republic from foreign invasion, regarded with little emotion the dissensions of the different provinces. The dread of beholding the whole commonwealth involved in anarchy, awakened the latent sparks of power which, however concealed, must subsist in all states. The presumption of the city of Utrecht in withdrawing its allotted quota of revenue from their disposal, seemed an object that merited immediate chastisement; and a body of troops was commanded by the provincial states to besiege and humble the haughty inhabitants of that opulent capital. This feeble detachment was however encountered by a band of armed burghers; it was on this occasion that the first

blood was shed in this civil conflict; and the regulars endured the mortification of retiring before an inferior number of undisciplined citizens.

Yet while the republicans received with avowed triumph the success of their first essay in arms, they were blind to the tempest that impended over them; whether too confident of their own strength, they had neglected to sooth, or were incapable of assuming those conciliating manners necessary to command, the affections of the military; the skirmish near Utrecht had scarce taken place, before the province of Holland was alarmed by the defection of two thirds of its regular forces, who quitted the posts that had been assigned them, and declared in favour of the prince of Orange. To supply the deficiency, the volunteers and armed burghers were summoned to the defence of their country, and were appointed to guard the frontiers,

While the states of that province were occupied in repressing the spirit of desertion among their troops, an event took place which introduced new and more important actors on the stage, and absorbed every other consideration. The princess of Orange, who had been driven by the violence of the adverse party from the Hague, now determined to return to the vicinity of that place, with the intention, as she declared, of
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communicating with the states general, and bringing forward such conciliatory propositions, in the name of the prince, her husband, as might avert if possible the evils and horrors of a civil war.

But the adverse party regarded this journey in a different light; they said, that in order to facilitate the stadtholder's open operations against them in the field, the princess had come into Holland, with a view of exciting insurrection and rebellion; and that the debauching the troops of the state, and increasing their late defection, was also probably included in the system; by these pretences they endeavoured to conciliate the minds of the populace to the rash and imprudent measure on which they now ventured; for the princess had scarce passed Schoonhoven, on the borders of Holland, before she was surrounded by a party of armed burghers, and was conveyed with every mark of licentious brutality to a small town at a considerable distance; she was thence escorted by the same guards to Schoonhoven; and hopeless of being permitted to pursue her journey to the Hague, she set out the next day for Nimeguen.

The king of Prussia, who had beheld with secret indignation, but with well-assumed indifference, the rights of his brother-in-law invaded by the turbulent spirit of the states of Holland, now found

found in the insult offered to his sister, that pretence for interference that he had so long ardently wished for. He ordered a strong memorial to be presented to the states of Holland, in which he insisted on the most ample and speedy satisfaction; at the same time he represented the indignity that he had suffered, in the person of the princess, to the court of Versailles; and Lewis in pointed terms condemned the insult, and recommended to the states to efface the affront by the most liberal reparation.

The republican party could not conceal their mortification at finding their conduct condemned by that ally on whose support they depended; yet whatever appearances the court of Versailles might think proper to preserve, the states of Holland still implicitly relied on the faith of France, and concluded, that in the hour of extremity her assistance would be proportioned to their distress. In this confidence they still rejected all language of submission; they refused to enter into any discussion of the subject, and issued orders that every thing should be prepared for laying the country under water, the moment any foreign troops should violate the territories of the republic.

The court of Berlin immediately made every disposition for entering into action; nine thousand Prussian troops lined the frontiers of the duchy of Cleves,

Cleves, bordering on the territories of the republic; the governor of Wesel received orders to prepare accommodations for the reception of an army of sixty or seventy thousand men; and the celebrated hereditary duke of Brunswick, who by the death of his father was now become the sovereign and reigning duke of that country, was called from his tranquil enjoyments, to command the forces of his royal kinsman, the king of Prussia.

The prince of Orange himself was not entirely inactive during these transactions. With the small army that he had assembled, he possessed himself by a *coup de main* of the fortified town of Wick, in the province of Utrecht; a place eminently noted for its early adoption of the most violent republican principles; and which, from its situation, was of still more importance, since established on the borders of Holland, twenty-four miles only from Amsterdam, it commanded the course of that part of the Rhine called the Lech, and might be considered as the key of the province on the side of Utrecht; he soon after reduced Harderwycke, a town in Guelderland, erected on the Zuyder Sea, was acknowledged by the city of Middleburgh and the whole province of Zealand, which declared without reserve in his favour, blocked up the city of Utrecht, and repulsed an attempt that was made by the superior
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numbers of the garrison and inhabitants on one of his out posts.

These successes probably served to quicken the motions of the Prussians; and the duke of Brunswick at the head of an army which consisted of about eighteen thousand men, furnished with a train of light artillery, advanced from the duchy of Cleves, and about the middle of September entered the province of Guelderland in three columns; that on the right, which directed its course to the northward, was under the command of general Lottum; the centre was entrusted to the generals Waldeck and Gaudi; and the left, which pointed its march to the south, was led by the duke in person.

The success of each division was such as might be expected from the dread conceived of the Prussian arms; and no superiority of number could embolden either the regular or irregular forces of the province to endure any thing like a conflict even with the hussars and chasseurs. Gorcum, though in a considerable state of defence, and under the government of the celebrated colonel and chamberlain Capelle, so eminent for his republican principles, surrendered after a few shots; and the garrison and governor yielded themselves prisoners of war to the duke of Brunswick; Newport and Schoonhoven, both capable of a long resistance,

stance, were abandoned by their garrisons ; Dort, Leyden, and Harlem, submitted on the first summons ; and Rotterdam, on the appearance of the Prussians, threw open her gates and received the invaders with the loudest acclamations.

The progress of the column in the centre was equally rapid and splendid ; on the approach of it, the turbulent city of Utrecht, which had derided the small army under the prince of Orange, was thrown into the utmost consternation ; every other object and consideration immediately gave way to the desire of escape ; the city was evacuated by all orders of armed men ; the artillery was left on the works without sentinels or guards ; and the prince of Orange, without opposition, took possession of a city which had long been considered as the great bulwark of the province of Holland, and, next to Amsterdam, as the principal seat and grand citadel of the republican party.

The column led by general Lottum on the right, met with rather more resistance ; Naarden, a strong place, lying at the south end of the Zuyder Sea, within thirteen miles of Amsterdam, rejected the summons of the Prussian commander, and gallantly prepared for defence. But general Lottum, whose detachment was by no means provided for a siege, turned aside from the walls, and received the submission of Nieuwerfluis, a
strong

strong fortrefs, with a garrison of near eight hundred foldiers, who surrendered prisoners of war.

During these military tranfactions, an unexpected revolution had taken place at the Hague; that town, the residence of the states of Holland, was yet strongly attached to the person and interests of the prince of Orange; the governing party, well aware of this disposition, had brought in a strong body of volunteers, to overawe the ordinary garrison and inhabitants; but under the difmay which the progress of the Prussians had excited on the republican side, it was easily seen that the volunteers would not long be able to keep the populace in subjection, and several principal persons of that party accordingly retired for safety to Amsterdam.

The event justified their precaution; the Swiss foldiers, who formerly composed the stadtholder's state guard, boldly assembled, and carried off the two pieces of cannon that had been assigned for the support of the volunteers; their zeal soon communicated to the inhabitants; the republicans on every side were disarmed; the most violent members of the states retired to Amsterdam; and the rest of that assembly immediately sent a deputation to solicit the return of the prince of Orange.

The prince accepted with transport the invitation,

tion, and with his consort was received at the Hague with every demonstration of joy; the states, without hesitation, restored him to all those offices and rights from which he had been suspended, and consequently annulled all proceedings which had been pursued against him in that province; they likewise issued an edict forbidding all attempts to inundate the country, and strictly commanding the governors of all cities to give free admission to the Prussian troops; in consequence of this, baron Matha, governor of Naarden, opened the gates of that town, on the same principle of duty on which before he had kept them closed.

All opposition was now centred in the city of Amsterdam, and its environs, whither the most active and most obstinate of the republican party had fled from all quarters. That proud capital, undismayed by the general defection, made every preparation for the most desperate resistance. The surrounding country was laid under water; strong batteries were every where erected; all the posts capable of commanding the roads leading into the town were entrenched and fortified; and the citizens declared they would hold out to the last extremity.

The danger was indeed already at their gates; and the duke of Brunswick had already established
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round the city a chain of posts wherever the nature of the ground and the intersection of the dykes would admit; a transient negotiation was scarce suffered to interrupt his ardour; and on finding the spirits of the Amsterdammers yet unsubdued, he determined to force their boasted barrier. In order to render the alarm and consternation more general, he not only ordered all the posts to be attacked at the same instant, but that each should be attacked in every quarter that it was possible to be approached; in a defence so extensive, it is not surprising that some weak point should have escaped the vigilance, or exceeded the strength of the besieged; the military talents of the duke of Brunswick had never been displayed to more advantage; he availed himself of every favourable occurrence; and notwithstanding the gallantry of the republicans, penetrated and established his posts within their boasted barrier.

The haughty city of Amsterdam was now for the first time delivered to the discretion of a victor, and, open on every side to bombardment, reluctantly descended to the language of submission. The magistracy declared themselves obliged by the impending danger to subscribe conditions which they yielded to, lest others more ruinous might be imposed. Sixteen persons most obnoxious to the prince of Orange, were deprived of their

their respective offices; the members of the regency, who had been tumultuously deposed for their attachment to the stadtholder, were immediately restored; the burghers and all persons in the town, except the legal militia, were to be disarmed; and the Leyden gate was delivered up to the Prussians, to facilitate the performance of this last condition.

The court of Versailles had long trusted to the natural strength of the republican party, and had been assiduous throughout the whole summer in endeavouring to second them by every description of succours that could be privately imparted. Crowds of French officers arrived every day in Holland, and either received commissions in the service of the states, or acted as volunteers in their troops. Several hundreds of tried and experienced foldiers, whose fidelity and discretion could be relied on, were selected from different regiments, and being furnished with money for their journey, and assurances of future favour, were dispatched in small parties to join the troops, and to help to discipline the burghers and volunteers. A considerable corps of engineers, disguised as mechanics, and instructed what answers to make to any enquiries, were directed to proceed silently towards Amsterdam, and to assist in strengthening the works of that city.

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These aids, which might have proved effectual had the contest been confined to the states of Holland and the prince of Orange, were overwhelmed in the rapid invasion of the Prussians; and the court of Berlin had taken its measures with so much celerity, and the situation of the republicans was already become so desperate, that it was doubtful whether their affairs could be restored by any assistance that France was capable of immediately administering. Yet on Great-Britain fitting out a strong squadron of men-of-war at Portsmouth to give confidence to the operations of the king of Prussia, the court of Versailles also sent orders to equip sixteen sail of the line at Brest, and recalled a small squadron which had been commissioned on a summer's cruise on the coast of Portugal.

In these preparations the king of France seemed rather to regard his own dignity, than to be actuated by any hopes of affording effectual relief to his allies. All opposition in Holland might be already considered as extinguished. The states assembled at the Hague, had officially notified to the court of Versailles, that the disputes between that province and the stadtholder were now happily terminated; and as the circumstances which gave occasion for their application to that court

no longer existed, so the succours which they had then requested would now be unnecessary.

Under these circumstances France could only wish to extricate herself from her present difficulty with honour; and the French king therefore readily listened to a memorial from the British ministers at Paris, who proposed, to preserve the good understanding between the two crowns, that all warlike preparations should be discontinued, and that the navies of both nations should be again placed upon the footing of a peace establishment. This was willingly acceded to by the court of Versailles; a short instrument was signed by monsieur de Montmorin and the duke of Dorset, in the names of their respective sovereigns; and that harmony which had been transiently interrupted, was restored between France and Great-Britain.

Though Lewis could not but severely feel the mortification of thus relinquishing the ascendancy that he had attained in the councils of Holland, and was not insensible to the disgrace of abandoning a people who had implicitly relied on his faith, yet every other consideration was absorbed by the state of his own domestic concerns, and the internal situation of his kingdom, which furnished matter for deep and serious reflection. The dismissal of monsieur de Calonne had left France without a minister, and almost without a system;

and though the king bore the opposition of the notables with admirable temper, yet the disappointment which he had experienced was grievous and highly discouraging. Without obtaining any relief for his most urgent necessities, he perceived too late that he had opened a path to the restoration of the ancient constitution of France, which had been undermined by the crafty Lewis the Eleventh, and had been nearly swept away by the daring and sanguinary counsels of Richelieu, under Lewis the Thirteenth. The notables had indeed conducted themselves with respect and moderation, but at the same time they had not been deficient in firmness; the appointment of monsieur de Brienne, archbishop of Thoulouse, and the vigorous adversary of monsieur de Calonne, to the office of comptroller-general, probably contributed to preserve the appearance of good humour in that assembly; yet the proposed territorial impost, or general land tax, which was an object so ardently coveted by the court, was rejected; and on this occasion the attorney-general of Provence was bold enough to declare, that neither that assembly, the parliaments, nor the king himself could assess any such impost in the country which he represented, since it was directly contrary to the specific and indefeasible rights of the people.

The king now deprived of any farther hope
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of rendering the convention the instrument of extricating him from his embarrassments, determined to dismise the meeting; his speech on dissolving the assembly was well calculated to engage the inclinations of the members. He acknowledged that they had fulfilled his expectations in assisting him with their counsels; that they had not only properly enquired into various abuses, but had suggested the means of reforming them; that they had done much towards the attainment of the grand object of reducing the expences of the state to a level with the public revenues, by the provisional taxes which they had recommended as the most proper to be laid on his subjects; and he concluded by declaring the satisfaction that he enjoyed in the hope, that these new imposts would not be so burthenfome as those of former times; the only wish of his heart being that of rendering his people as contented and happy as possible.

Lewis, thus disappointed of those advantages, which he had flattered himself that he should have drawn from the acquiescence of the notables, was obliged now to recur to the usual mode of raising money by the royal edicts; among the measures proposed for this purpose was the doubling of the poll tax, the re-establishment of the third twentieth, and a stamp duty; the whole was strongly disapproved by the parliament of Paris, but the

last in particular was the immediate object of contention ; and that assembly in the most positive terms refused to register the edict. The king was obliged to apply, as the last resort, to his absolute authority, and by holding what is called a bed of justice, compelled them to enroll the impost.

The parliament, though defeated, were far from subdued ; on the day after the king had held his bed of justice, they entered a formal protest against the concession that had been extorted from them. They declared that the edict had been registered against their approbation and consent, by the king's express command ; that it neither ought, nor *should* have any force ; and that the first person who should presume to attempt to carry it into execution, should be adjudged a traitor and condemned to the galleys.

This declaration left to the crown no other alternative than either proceeding to extremities in support of its authority, or giving up for ever after the power of raising money upon any occasion, without the consent of the parliament ; painful as every appearance of violence must have proved to the mild disposition of Lewis, he could not consent to surrender, without a struggle, that authority which had been so long exercised by his predecessors. Since the commencement of the present
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discontents, the capital had been gradually filled with considerable bodies of troops; and about a week after the parliament had entered the protest, an officer of the French guards, with a party of soldiers, went at break of day to the house of each individual member, to signify to him the king's command; that he should immediately get into his carriage, and proceed to Troyes, a city of Champagne, about seventy miles from Paris, without writing or speaking to any person out of his own house before his departure; these orders were served at the same instant; and before the citizens of Paris were acquainted with the transaction, the parliament were already on the road to the scene of their banishment.

But previous to their removal, they had presented a remonstrance on the late measures of government, and the alarming state of public affairs; in stating their opinions on taxes, they declared that neither the parliaments, nor any other authority, excepting that of the three estates of the kingdom, collectively assembled, could warrant the laying of any permanent tax upon the people; and they strongly enforced the renewal of those national assemblies, which had rendered the reign of Charlemagne so great and illustrious.

The ardent desire of the parliaments to re-establish the national council, or states general, was the

the more honourable, as the former assemblies must have sunk under the influence of the latter, and returned to their original condition of mere registers and courts of law. The confidence and attachment of the people of consequence rose in proportion to this instance of disinterestedness; their murmurs were openly expressed in the streets of the capital; and the general dissatisfaction was augmented by the step that was put to public business, by the exile of the chief magistrates.

The court at the same time was apparently weak and divided, and continual changes took place in every department of the state. The king, averse to rigorous counsels, wished to allay the growing discontent by every concession that was consistent with his dignity; but it was generally believed that his royal consort strongly dissuaded him from any step that might tend to the diminution of the regal authority; the influence of that princess in the cabinet was undoubtedly great; but the popularity which once had accompanied her was no more; and some imputations of private levity, which had been rumoured through the capital, were far from rendering her acceptable to the majority of the people; while the count d'Artois, the king's brother, who had expressed himself in the most unguarded terms
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against the perseverance of the parliament, stood exposed to all the hatred of a lively and insulted people.

It was not only in Paris that the flame of liberty once more burst forth ; the provincial parliaments imitated that of the capital ; among various instances of this nature, the parliament of Grenoble passed a decree against *Letters de Cachet*, the most odious engine of arbitrary power, and declared the execution of them, within their jurisdiction, by any person, and under any authority, to be a capital crime.

The king had endeavoured to sooth the discontented minds of the Parisians by new regulations of œconomy, and by continual retrenchments in his household ; but these proofs of attention, which once would have been received with the loudest acclamations, were now lost in their open affliction for the absence of their parliament ; and the monarch, to regain the affections of his subjects, after an exile of a month, consented to restore that assembly ; the sources of dispute in the territorial impost, and stamp duty, were abandoned by Lewis ; and the parliament on their side consented to register an edict, by which the archbishop of Thoulouse was constituted first minister of state.

This harmony was not of long duration ; the necessities

necessities of the state still continued, nor could the deficiency of the revenue be supplied but by extraordinary resources, or a long course of rigid frugality; about the middle of November, in a full meeting of the parliament, attended by all the princes of the blood, and the peers of France, the king entered the assembly, and proposed two edicts for their approbation; the first was for a new loan for four hundred and fifty millions, near nineteen millions sterling; the second was for the re-establishment of the protestants in all their ancient civil rights, a measure which had long been warmly recommended by the parliament, and which was probably now introduced to procure a better reception to the loan.

In ushering in these edicts, the king had delivered himself in a speech of uncommon length, replete with every sentiment of regard for the people, but at the same time full of intimations to the parliament of the obedience he expected. It is possible that Lewis imagined that the dread of that banishment from which they had been so lately recalled, would have ensured the acquiescence of the assembly; but no sooner was permission announced for every member to deliver his sentiment, than he was convinced their spirits were unsubdued by their recent exile. An animated debate was continued
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for nine hours, when the king, wearied by incessant opposition, and chagrined at some freedoms used in their arguments, suddenly rose, and commanded the edict to be registered without further delay. This measure was most unexpectedly opposed by the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, who, considering it as an infringement of the rights of parliament, protested against the whole proceedings of the day as being thereby null and void. Though Lewis could not conceal his astonishment and displeasure at this decisive step, he contented himself with repeating his orders, and immediately after, quitting the assembly, retired to Versailles.

On the sovereign's departure, the parliament confirmed the protest of the duke of Orleans, and declared, as their deliberations had been interrupted, they considered the whole business of that day as of no effect. But it was not to be supposed that Lewis would silently pass over so bold an attack on the authority of the crown. The baron de Breteuil next day delivered a letter to the duke of Orleans, in which he was commanded to retire to Villars Cotterel, one of his seats about fifteen leagues from Paris, and to receive no company there, except his own family; at the same time the abbé Sabatier, and monsieur Freteau, both members of the parliament, and who had distinguished

tinguished themselves in the debate, were seized under the authority of lettres de cachet, and conveyed, the first to the castle of Mont St. Michel in Normandy, the last to a prison in Picardy.

The parliament were not slow in proclaiming their feelings at this act of oppression; on the following day they waited on the king, and expressed their astonishment and concern that a prince of the blood royal had been exiled, and two of their members imprisoned, for having declared in his presence what their duty and consciences dictated; and at a time when his majesty had announced that he came to take the sense of the assembly by a plurality of voices. The answer of the king was reserved and forbidding: "when I put away from my presence a prince of my blood, my parliament ought to believe that I have strong reasons for doing it; I have punished two magistrates, with whose conduct I ought to be dissatisfied."

This cold and stately repulse did not discourage the parliament from presenting a long address, in which they represented in glowing colours the consequence of the late acts of violence, and painted the unworthy treatment of the two suffering magistrates confined in horrid and unwholesome prisons, where life was a continual punishment; "if exile," they add, "is the recompence of fi-
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“ delity to the princes of your blood ; if outrage
 “ and captivity threaten the ingenuoufnefs of
 “ the first magiftrates of the kingdom, we may
 “ ask ourfelves with terror and grief, what will
 “ become of the laws, of the public liberty, of
 “ the honour, and of the manners of the nation ?”

Yet this fpirit of refentiment did not prevent the parliament from attending to the exigencies of the ftate ; and convinced of the emergency, they confented to register the loan for four hundred and fifty millions of livres, which had been the fource of this unfortunate difference ; it is probable this concession concurred to act upon the mind of the king, naturally humane ; and the fentence of the two magiftrates was in confequence changed from imprifonment to exile ; monsieur Freteau being fent to one of his country feats, and the abbé Sabatiere to a convent of Benedictines.

The parliament was however unwilling to give up the points againft which they had originally remonftrated ; and in a petition conceived with freedom, and couched in the moft animated language, they boldly reprobated the late acts of arbitrary violence. “ We do not come,” they declare, “ fo much to claim your compaffion, as
 “ the protection of the laws. It is not to your
 “ humanity alone that we addrefs ourfelves ; it
 “ is

“ is not a favour which your parliament solicits ;
“ it comes, sire, to *demand justice*. That justice
“ which is subject to regulations, independent
“ of the will of man ; even kings themselves
“ are subservient to them ; that glorious prince
“ Henry the Fourth acknowledged that he had
“ two sovereigns, God, and the laws. ”

“ One of these regulations is to condemn no
“ one without a hearing ; it is a duty in all
“ times, and in all places ; it is the duty of all
“ men ; and your majesty will allow us to re-
“ present to you, that it is as obligatory on you,
“ as on your subjects. ”

“ It is therefore in the name of those laws
“ which preserve empires ; in the name of that
“ liberty for which we are the respectful inter-
“ preters and the lawful mediators ; in the name
“ of your authority, of which we are the first and
“ most confidential ministers, that we dare to
“ demand the trial or the liberty of the duke of
“ Orleans, and the two exiled magistrates, who
“ are imprisoned by a sudden order, as contrary to
“ the sentiments as the interests of your majesty. ”

A. D. 1788. Such pretensions struck at once at
the root of arbitrary power ; and while
they delivered the subject from fear, would have
disarmed the vengeance of the sovereign. But we
have already noticed the fluctuating counsels of the
court

court of Versailles ; and Lewis, as often as he was left to pursue his own inclinations, adopted measures of reconciliation ; in the beginning of the year he recalled the duke of Orleans to court, and permitted the return of the abbé Sabatier and monsieur Freteau.

The parliament of Paris had not confined their demands to the liberation of these gentlemen, but had echoed the remonstrances of the parliament of Grenoble, and had loudly inveighed against the execution of *lettres de cachet*. These repeated remonstrances, mingled with personal reflections, seconded most probably the suggestions of the queen, and Lewis was once more prevailed on to recur to severity. Monsieur de Lamoignon, on the dismissal of Monsieur de Miromesnil, had, on the recommendation of Monsieur de Calonne, been entrusted with the seals, and he still continued to hold them under the administration of the Archbishop of Thoulouse. The Chancellor was summoned by Monsieur de Brienne, to the arduous task of composing a new court of jurisprudence ; the *Cour Plénière* was to be the result of their joint counsels ; each measure for the establishment of that court was taken with the greatest secrecy ; a press was erected at

Versailles; printers were employed night and day; and the avenues were strictly guarded from the approach of curiosity by a triple row of bayonets.

These appearances of mystery served to excite fresh alarms; and the Parliament of Paris conceived themselves too deeply interested in the event to be deterred by any obstacles. Monsieur d'Espremenil, a member of that assembly, possessed himself of the important secret; he divulged it to his associates; and animated them to oppose with their combined strength a project which aimed at nothing less than their final extinction.

The court of Versailles, but little satisfied with the discovery of monsieur d'Espremenil, was enflamed by the boldness with which he harangued against its designs; the king was persuaded that examples of punishment were become necessary to the support of his power, and messieurs d'Espremenil and Monsambert, whose open and pointed language had pressed most closely on the royal authority, were doomed to experience its immediate resentment. A body of armed troops, provided with axes to force the doors in case of resistance, surrounded the Palais; the Sieur Vincent d'Agoult, who commanded them, entered the assembly,

sembly, and secured the persons of the obnoxious members. Monsieur d'Espremenil was conducted to the state prison of the islands of St. Marguerite, and monsieur de Monsambert to that of Pierre Encise.

The activity of monsieur de Brienne had advanced him from chief of the council of finance to the post of first minister, and his zeal had been rewarded with a rich abbey and the archbishoprick of Sens: But his transient prosperity was already in the wain; the late instance of despotism was followed by a remonstrance of the parliament, which exceeded in boldness all the former representations of that assembly. They declared they were now more strongly confirmed, by every proceeding, of the entire innovation which was aimed at in the constitution. "But, sire," added they, "the French nation will never adopt the despotic measures to which you are advised, and the effects of which alarm the most faithful of your magistrates; we shall not repeat all the unfortunate circumstances which afflict us; we shall only represent to you, with respectful firmness, that the fundamental laws of the kingdom *must* not be trampled upon; and that *your authority can only*

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"be

" *be esteemed, so long as it is tempered with justice.*"

Language so bold and decisive, and which asserted the controlling power of the laws above the regal authority, could not fail of seriously alarming the royal bosom. To diminish the influence of parliament, it was determined again to convene the notables; and about the beginning of May, Lewis appeared in that assembly; and after complaining of the excesses in which the parliament of Paris had indulged themselves, and which had drawn down his tardy indignation on a few of the members, he declared his resolution, instead of annihilating them as a body, to bring them back to their duty and obedience by a salutary reform. Monsieur de Lamoignon, as keeper of the seals, explained his majesty's pleasure to establish a *cour pleniere* or supreme assembly, to be composed of princes of the blood, peers of the realm, great officers of the crown, the clergy, marshals of France, governors of provinces, knights of different orders, a deputation of one member from every parliament, and two members from the chambers of councils and to be summoned as often as the public emergency, in the royal opinion, should render it requisite.

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If the assembly of the notables listened in silent deference to the project of their sovereign, the parliament of Paris received it with every symptom of rooted aversion; they strongly protested against the establishment of any other tribunal, and declared their final resolution not to assist at any deliberations in the supreme assembly which his majesty prepared to institute. A more unexpected mortification occurred to the king in the opposition of several peers of the realm; these expressed their regret at beholding the fundamental principles of the kingdom violated; and while they were lavish in their professions of attachment to the person of their sovereign, concluded with apologizing for not entering on those functions assigned them in the plenary court, as inconsistent with the true interests of his majesty, which were inseparable from those of the nation.

The new archbishop of Sens was startled by these appearances of general discontent; and his advice to his sovereign, was to recall once more monsieur Necker to the administration of the finances. This counsel, which had it been urged and adopted sooner, might have been productive of the most salutary effects, was now only agreed to as the last resource; even in the very moment of giving it, the

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minister

minister hesitated: He had flattered himself with the idea of still retaining the nominal direction of affairs; but his rival suffered him not long to deceive himself with that vain hope; and the first stipulation of monsieur Necker was the immediate dismissal of monsieur de Brienne, who, despoiled of power, was left to console himself with the dignity of cardinal, and an immense revenue, the fruits of his ministerial influence.

Monsieur de Lamoignon, whose elevation had a short time preceded that of the archbishop, was soon after included in his disgrace. Though the court still was desirous of retaining him in office, the parliament pursued him with implacable hatred; the firmness of that assembly had triumphed over the proposed establishment of the *Cour Pleniere*; but their unwearied resentment still continued to attend every patron of that obnoxious project. Monsieur de Lamoignon was unable to withstand their repeated and incessant attacks; he demanded and obtained his dismission from office, and seemed at first to support the reverse of fortune with becoming magnanimity; but the mysterious circumstances of his death have left it doubtful how far his fortitude was equal to the appearances he assumed. He was accustomed
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to amuse himself with shooting ; a few days after his resignation, he had walked out as if in pursuit of his usual sports ; in little more than an hour afterwards he was discovered by a labourer in a grotto of the garden, dead, and weltering in his blood ; the fusil, the instrument of his fate, was by his side ; but whether discharged by accident or design has never been ascertained. Though neither addicted to play or pleasures, and long in possession of the royal favour, Monsieur de Lamoignon left his paternal estate deeply burthened with debt ; and was accompanied to the tomb by the unfeigned tears of a wife and children, whose fortunes he had ruined : An upright magistrate and sincere patriot, he shook to the foundation, the magistracy and the kingdom ; and he bequeathed his example as a salutary lesson to those ambitious spirits who besiege the throne, and aspire to places of eminence, without first enquiring whether they possess the necessary abilities to fill them,

Chapter the Forty-seventh..

DISORDERS AT PARIS ON THE DISMISSAL OF THE ARCH-BISHOP OF SENS—RENEWED ON THE RESIGNATION OF MONSIEUR DE LAMOIGNON—RECALL OF MONSIEUR NECKER—HIS CHARACTER—PROPOSAL TO ASSEMBLE THE STATES-GENERAL—DIFFICULTIES THAT OCCUR IN CONVENING THEM—DEBATES CONCERNING THE NUMBER THE THIRD ESTATE SHOULD BE COMPOSED OF—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PRINCES OF THE BLOOD—PLAN OF MONSIEUR NECKER ADOPTED—ASSEMBLY OF THE STATES-GENERAL—SPEECH OF THE KING—OF MONSIEUR NECKER—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CLERGY AND NOBILITY, AND THE THIRD ESTATE—THESE ASSUME THE TITLE OF COMMONS—ATTEMPT OF THE KING TO MEDIATE BETWEEN THE THREE ESTATES—THE COMMONS ARE JOINED BY SEVERAL OF THE CLERGY, AND A FEW OF THE NOBILITY—THEY DECLARED THEMSELVES THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY—THEIR FIRST DECREES RESPECTING THE COLLECTION OF THE TAXES, AND THE PUBLIC DEBT.

THE citizens of Paris had received the dismissal of the late minister with the loudest acclamations; but the joy of the public was soon converted into mourning by an event disastrous

astrous and sanguinary. The populace, in the excess of their transports, had assembled at the *Place Dauphine*; they had carried about in triumph a figure cloathed in episcopal robes, of which three-fifths were fatten, and two of paper; a satirical allusion to a late decree, which authorized the different banks to make two-fifths of their payments in paper. The figure itself was judged with ludicrous solemnity, and condemned to the flames. An ecclesiastic, who happened to pass by at that moment, was arrested by the crowd; they bestowed on him the name of the Abbé Vermont, who was supposed to enjoy the confidence, and direct the counsels of the late minister; under this fictitious title, they compelled him to confess the image; which was immediately after burnt with much ceremony; and the people, gratified with this ideal vengeance, dispersed without any other marks of disorder.

The populace had been too much pleased with their harmless triumph, not to be desirous of enjoying it again; they accordingly assembled the succeeding day on the same spot; but that which they conceived as an innocent amusement appeared in a very different light to the chevalier Dubois, who commanded the *marrechaussée* at Paris. Zealous in the discharge
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of his duty, and eager to distinguish himself by his peculiar vigilance, he prepared to interrupt these tumultuous meetings, which he considered as endangering the tranquillity of the capital. The obvious method would have been to have occupied the passes leading to the *Place Dauphine* early in the morning, and before the people had began to assemble. But whether this measure escaped the penetration of that commander, or that he despised too much the unarmed and undisciplined multitude to execute it, it is certain near twenty thousand people were collected before he thought the numbers worthy his presence; even then the feeble guard that accompanied him proclaimed his contempt of resistance. His slender troop consisted only of twenty *mare-chaussée* mounted on horseback, sustained by fifty on foot. His appearance at the head of this escort was by no means productive of the terror that he flattered himself he should inspire; the people, equally deaf to his threats and admonitions, still kept their ground, and refused to disperse; and the chevalier Dubois, fatigued with ineffectual remonstrances, at length gave the reins to his natural impetuosity, and commanded his followers to charge.

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The croud, unable to sustain the fury of the first attack, were broken by this handful of soldiers; several were trampled down by the horses of the cavalry, several were wounded by the swords and bayonets of their enemies, and not a few lost their lives amidst the general confusion. But no sooner were the first moments of surprise over, than shame and indignation triumphed over their transient fears: The spirits of the citizens were restored by the small number of their adversaries; their courage was confirmed by the disorderly pursuit of the *marechaussée*, who in the exultation of ideal victory had quitted their ranks, and renounced those advantages which they might have derived from superior discipline; in a moment they were assailed on every side by those arms which the immediate fury of the people supplied; the scene was instantly changed; the late victors now abandoned themselves to a precipitate flight, and the chevalier Dubois was the foremost of the fugitives.

The people, elated by this essay in arms, proceeded to force the guard placed near the statue of Henry the Fourth; all resistance was swept away by the torrent of the assailants; the vanquished were despoiled by their conquerors; their arms were seized; their uniforms
were

were burnt; but some praise is due to the moderation of the multitude, who in the midst of popular insurrection respected the lives of these unfortunate men; and dismissed them after this severe lesson of humiliation, to join their companions.

Hundreds of the lower class of the people dispersed themselves through the city; several guard houses, which stood separate from other buildings, were set on fire by this disorderly troop; but on attempting to possess themselves of the *Greve*, the place of execution in Paris, they were repulsed by a body of regular troops; and many atoned with their lives for the tumult they had engaged in. The next morning order seemed restored throughout the city; but the minds of the people still remained agitated; the embers of insurrection were concealed, but not quenched; and the breath of occasion was only wanting to wake again the dormant flame.

This was supplied by the retreat of Monsieur de Lamoignon; on that event the same scenes were re-commenced; and the figure of that minister was burnt in effigy without any interruption from the police. But it is equally dangerous to treat with severity, or abandon the multitude to their own caprice; and the people from burning in effigy Monsieur de Lamoignon,

moignon, rushed, with torches in their hands, to communicate the flames to the houses of the late ministers, and to that of the chevalier Dubois.

It was at that instant that Monsieur de Brienne, the brother of the archbishop, and secretary of war, arrived from Versailles. His own hotel was threatened by the insurgents; and his concern for the public safety was stimulated by personal interest: Immediate orders were given for the French guards to march; two different detachments entered at each end of the street of St. Dominique, where the greatest number of the populace had assembled; these were instantly pierced by the charge of the regulars; a number perished on the spot, and the rest fled in confusion, and concealed themselves in the adjacent houses; at the same time the street *Melée*, where the chevalier Dubois resided, presented a scene equally fatal and sanguinary.

Amidst these disorders the weak and fluctuating counsels that disgraced the cabinet of Versailles present themselves as a predominant feature. On the first tumultuary assemblage of the people, had a strong body of troops been posted in the different streets of the capital, the crowd over-awed must instantly have dispersed; their

their momentary rage would soon have given way to their natural levity; their minds would not have been irritated by the loss of their companions; nor their spirits elated by their vaunted triumph over a feeble band of *mar-chausée*; but the imbecility of the court, neglected the first sparks of insurrection, and afterwards endeavoured in vain to extinguish the flame with the blood of the people.

Another effect, which was little apprehended, but which was attended by consequences of the utmost magnitude, was produced by these tumultuary conflicts. In every government the citizens are accustomed to regard the military with terror and suspicion; standing armies ever have been, and ever must remain, an object of jealousy to the bulk of mankind: But the soldier, though in some measure separated by his profession from his fellow citizens, is by no means indifferent to their reproaches, or insensible of their hatred. In the late disturbances the French guards beheld themselves loaded with the invectives of the capital; they were persuaded to blush at the part they had acted in obedience to the orders of their officers; sentiments of patriotism succeeded to those of implicit submission; they wished to be restored to the favourable opinion of their countrymen; they

they declared they were engaged to defend, and not to oppress the people; and the language of an individual corps was soon generally diffused throughout the army.

The parliament, so lately restored, beheld not in silence the commotions which shook the capital. The chevalier Dubois was commanded to appear before that assembly. The orders which he produced stifled all judicial proceedings against him, but could not extinguish the resentment of his fellow-citizens; the public tranquillity seemed to require his absence; and government, though reluctantly, consented to the sacrifice, and removed him to a distance from the capital.

The marechal Duc de Biron, who had accepted the command of Paris, was also summoned before the tribunal of the parliament. He pleaded his age and infirmities, which no longer allowed him to partake the active duties of life; and this excuse, which ought to have prevented him from aspiring to a trust which he was no longer capable of discharging, was received by the compassion of the Parliament as a palliation of his conduct; but the popular indignation augmented the weight of years; and in less than a month from this event,

event, the Duc de Biron, oppressed by regret, breathed his last.

The late unhappy disturbances had cast a gloom over the minds of the Parisians, but a ray of hope burst upon them from the recall of Monsieur Necker to the administration. We have already noticed how invariably hitherto the public confidence had been attached to the measures of that gentleman; the credit of an individual seemed at this moment to support the tottering state of France; and the people flattered themselves that the national wealth, which had been so long diverted from its proper course, would, by his integrity and ability, be again restored to its natural channel.

Few characters have been more severely scrutinized than that of Monsieur Necker; while his friends and partizans, zealous and grateful, have attributed to him every quality that can adorn a great minister, his rivals and opponents have endeavoured to strip him of every pretension to merit: In a commercial line, the facility and depth of his calculations had challenged the approbation of his contemporaries; as comptroller-general, his splendid project of supporting a war by loans without taxes, had attracted the admiration of his countrymen; while the severe reform which he had introduced into
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the royal household, flattered and gratified the applauding multitude. But the commerce of a great people is not to be arranged like that of a simple individual: Frugality, industry, and probity, are the basis on which the latter is founded; while the former requires in addition, liberality of sentiment, expanded ideas, and penetration seldom to be eluded. The project of monsieur Necker, in maintaining a war establishment without increasing the burdens of the people, was indeed captivating and magnificent; but it was attended by two fatal consequences; it opened to his successors the facility of borrowing, a measure which must ever ultimately prove fatal to a nation; while no security being immediately appropriated to the payment of these new loans, the monied men availed themselves of this defect to advance the supplies at an exorbitant advantage.

If the talents of monsieur Necker had been severely exercised when, amidst a war which agitated almost all Europe, he formerly occupied the post of comptroller-general, his situation was not less delicate when, on the eve of civil commotion, he was called again to direct the finances of France.

That government possessed indeed the resources of an immense territory; a country fertile in every necessary production; ports and

harbours which invited to commerce ; and a people equally skilful to guide the plough or the loom. With these advantages its internal wealth and happiness ought to have kept pace with its power and grandeur : But before the harvests of the state could arrive at maturity, before the revenues could be collected into the public treasury, they for near a century past had been anticipated by needy and prodigal ministers ; and France groaned beneath a national debt of five milliards, or upwards of two hundred and eight millions sterling.

The acclamations which welcomed monsieur Necker to the capital could not banish from his mind the difficulties he had to struggle with ; he was sensible that monsieur de Calonne and the archbishop of Sens had both sunk under the public distress, and the impracticability of raising the necessary supplies : That distress was not diminished ; and unless some expedient could be adopted to re-establish public credit, he foresaw his own fate in those of his predecessors.

The sole expedient that appeared likely to produce the desired effect was the assembly of the states-general : That assembly had been demanded by the unanimous voice of the people ; but it was certainly with reluctance that the sovereign consented to convene a body of men, whose
powers

powers and popularity must overshadow his own authority, and whose jurisdiction would confine within narrow limits the ample prerogative he had inherited from his predecessors.

Even monsieur Necker himself was not a little embarrassed by the choice of difficulties which presented themselves in assembling the states-general. These had been wholly discontinued during the two preceding reigns; and though the queen regent, during the troubles which attended the minority of Lewis XIV. frequently expressed her intention of calling them together, she was constantly dissuaded by the representations of the crafty Mazarin. The parliament also, who began now to repent their late patriotic remonstrances; and who, recovering from the furies of enthusiasm, beheld with terror, in the re-establishment of the states-general, the extinction of their own political consequence, endeavoured to augment the perplexity of the minister, by supporting the pretensions of the nobles and clergy against the commons; pretensions which they had themselves but lately protested against as unconstitutional.

From the reign of Philip the Fair, the period in which the third *estate*, or *representatives of the commons*, had first been admitted into the assembly of the states-general, to the year 1614, the

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influence

influence of that estate had undergone a considerable fluctuation ; its numbers had been occasionally varied ; it had always possessed a greater number of voices than either of the other orders separated, but had never been equal to the nobility and clergy united : The interesting question was now proposed, whether the representatives of the commons ought to be confined to a third in number of the states-general ; or, whether they ought to be allowed a number equal to the other two orders united ?

An object so important could not fail of being discussed with warmth and ability ; the partizans of either party were numerous and active ; the press groaned with incessant publications ; even the sentiments of the princes of the blood were divided ; and while the count d'Artois, the princes of Condé and Conti, with the duke de Bourbon, supported the ancient pretensions of the nobility, the duc d'Orleans, sacrificing every narrow consideration, ranged himself on the popular side, and declared openly for the commons. His sentiments were received with the loudest applause, and the people looked with gratitude towards a leader, who in defending their rights was deaf to the voice of personal interest.

The declaration of the duke d'Orleans was soon after followed by the decision of Monsieur Necker ; his proposal was, after long and serious deliberation,

deliberation, approved by the king, and registered by the parliament. It fixed the number of deputies to the states-general at one thousand and upwards; it ordained, that the representatives of the third estate, or commons, should equal in number those of the nobility and clergy united; and it decreed that the different bailiwicks, in returning their members, should be guided by the standard of population.

In this moment of fermentation, when the hopes and fears of people were equally awakened, the election of deputies for the states-general was, with some few exceptions, conducted with tranquillity: At Paris indeed the contest was long and severe; Monsieur d'Eprenenil, who formerly had suffered from the royal indignation, and had been confined in the state prison of the islands of St. Marguerite; and the abbé Sieyès, who had defended with energy the pretensions of the third estate, in a popular performance entitled, *Qu'est-ce-que le Tiers-Etat*, were named among the representatives of the capital.

The advice of Monsieur Necker had swelled the deputies of the third state to an equality in number with the united orders of the clergy and the nobility; but this concession, important as it seemed, might yet be evaded; and it was early foreseen, by those who considered with attention

the situation of the two parties, that the nobility and clergy, (who had already offered to bear their part of the burden of the state) to preserve their influence, would urge their claim to vote by order; while the representatives of the commons would be equally strenuous that every question should be decided by a plurality of voices; that this difference of opinion would soon increase into an open schism; and would destroy that unanimity so necessary to the public tranquillity, and so essential to the deliberations of the states-general,

Those who ventured to foretell these
 A. D. consequences, were not disappointed by
 1789.

the event. On the fifth of May, 1789, the king opened at Versailles the long expected assembly of the states-general. His speech on this occasion was such as became the sovereign and the friend of the people: He declared, "that the day which his heart had so long panted after
 " was at length arrived, in which he beheld
 " himself surrounded by the representatives of a
 " nation, which it was his glory to reign over."

" That though a long interval had elapsed
 " since the states-general had been assembled,
 " and though those assemblies had appeared to
 " have sunk into disuse, yet he had not hesitated
 " to re-establish them again, as a source from
 whence

“ whence the kingdom might derive additional
 “ strength, and which might open to the nation
 “ a new prospect of happiness.

“ The national debt,” he added, “ so considerable at his accession to the throne, had been
 “ augmented during his reign ; this was to be
 “ attributed to a war expensive indeed, but honourable ; the increase of taxes had been the
 “ necessary consequence, and had rendered still
 “ more apparent the inequality with which they
 “ were levied.

“ A general discontent, an eager thirst for innovations had,” he observed, “ pervaded the
 “ minds of the people, and might finally tend
 “ to delude them from their duty, if their opinions were not recalled by counsels at once
 “ wise, moderate, and united.

“ It was in that confidence, that he had assembled the states-general ; and he beheld
 “ with pleasure his expectations justified by the disposition which the nobility and clergy had
 “ already shewn to renounce all pecuniary advantages : And he flattered himself that the
 “ hope he had conceived, to behold all the
 “ orders unanimously concur with himself in
 “ pursuing the public good, would not be disappointed.

“ In his own expences,” he said, “ he had al-

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“ ready made considerable reductions. But with
“ every exertion of œconomy, he dreaded that
“ he should not be able to diminish the burdens
“ of his subjects so soon as he desired; that
“ he should submit to their inspection, an exact
“ account of the finances; and when they had
“ examined them, he was assured they would
“ propose the means most efficacious to establish
“ permanent order, and to raise the public
“ credit: This grand and salutary work, which
“ would assure the internal happiness, and the
“ external grandeur of the kingdom, ought
“ continually to occupy their thoughts. ’

“ The minds of the people still indeed remained agitated; but the representative body
“ of the nation would doubtless only listen to
“ the language of wisdom and prudence; they
“ themselves had observed how often that language had been neglected; but the spirit of
“ their deliberations, (he doubted not) would
“ answer to the true sentiments of a generous
“ people, who had ever been distinguished by
“ their attachment to the throne.

“ I know (continued the prince) the authority
“ and power of a just king in the midst of a
“ people, faithful, and ever devoted to the
“ principles of the monarchy: That authority
“ and power have constituted the glory and
“ grandeur

“ grandeur of France ; and it is my duty, and
“ I ever will firmly maintain them.

“ But whatever can be expected for the
“ public welfare, whatever can be demanded of
“ a sovereign, the friend of his people, you may,
“ you ought, to hope from my sentiments.

“ That a perfect unanimity may reign through
“ this assembly ; that this period may become
“ for ever memorable for the happiness and the
“ prosperity of the kingdom, is the wish of my
“ heart, is the most fervent of my prayers ; it is
“ the reward that I expect for the uprightness of
“ my intentions, and my love for my people.”

Such was the language delivered from the throne on the first meeting of the states-general. The patriotic sentiments of the sovereign were followed by a cold and insipid harangue from the keeper of the seals, which was received without attention, and immediately consigned to oblivion.

But far different was the reception of the speech of monsieur Necker ; every word was strongly imprinted in the minds of the auditors, and every sentiment exposed to the severest scrutiny. He stated, that the same power which had thought proper to summon, might also have prevented the meeting of the states general ; that though, in respect to the finances, the public deficit was considerable, that various
resources

resources remained, without having recourse to this extraordinary expedient. He then touched upon the difficulties that had occurred in convening the assembly; he represented the facility with which a king of France could always render himself master of their determinations, should these depend upon a plurality of voices; and he finished by strongly insinuating the propriety of deciding every question by a majority of the *orders* taken separately.

It was the misfortune of monsieur Necker on this occasion, to be desirous of pleasing both parties, and of consequence he obtained the permanent confidence of neither; the acclamations of the giddy multitude still indeed attended him, but several deputies of the *third estate or commons*, regarded already with suspicion the minister who represented the meeting of the states-general merely as the effect of royal compliance, instead of a constitutional right: They were still less satisfied with the system he inclined to, to decide every question by a majority of orders instead of voices; while the clergy and nobility recollected with indignation, that his counsels had shaken their former superiority, and had swelled the commons to equal in number the other two estates.

Neither the unanimity recommended by the king,

king, nor the system of policy inculcated by his minister, had a momentary effect on the states-general. Scarce the monarch had left the hall, before the clergy and the nobility retired to their different chambers to verify their powers. The third estate regarded this separation with evident jealousy; they considered it as an open attempt in the other two estates to establish the system which had been alluded to by the minister of the finances. Composing in number one half of that assembly, the commons were determined never to submit to the claims of the nobility and clergy to vote by orders, and thus to reduce themselves to a third part of the assembly; a concession which they asserted would have rendered illusory the rights which had been acknowledged in the third estate; and why, added they, have we been granted a moiety of voices, if those voices are to be considered as only composing a third?

The third estate, which had remained in the hall appointed for their deliberations, pressed the other two orders to continue with them, and to verify their powers in common. They urged, that at present the important question was by no means concerned whether they should deliberate by orders, or by numbers; and that the sole matter in dispute was a simple verification of powers. Several days passed in fruitless invitations

invitations and negotiations ; the patience of the third estate was at length exhausted ; they determined to proceed to business, and they assumed the title of *commons* ; a title which we have already bestowed upon them by anticipation.

On the eleventh of May, the nobility also, after having verified their powers, declared themselves a legal assembly ; but the clergy followed their march with more cautious steps. They deferred the verification of their powers, and regarding themselves as yet composing no constitutional body, they offered their mediation between the other two orders. But the minds of each party grew daily more hostile ; the schism became still wider ; and at length the royal interposition was deemed necessary to compose those differences which blasted the happy fruits that had been expected from the meeting of the states-general.

But the seeds of discontent had taken root too deeply to be easily eradicated ; in vain did Lewis recommend, in the most persuasive terms, that unanimity which alone could give weight to the proceedings of the assembly ; his plan of conciliation produced only debates, assemblies of commissaries, addressees, and deputations, eloquent but indecisive. Several weeks were consumed in ineffectual motions on the scarcity of corn, the distress

distress of the people, the regulation of the police, and the validity of elections.

At length, about the middle of June, the impatience of the commons prevailed over every other consideration; several of the clergy, already ashamed of their inactivity, had consented to verify their powers in the presence of the third estate; their example had been followed by a small body of the nobility; and, on the fifteenth of June, the abbé Sieyes, availing himself of this event, made his celebrated motion.

He represented, "that the assembly already consisted of deputies returned by a very considerable majority of the nation; that such a body ought not to remain inactive because a certain description of citizens obstinately persevered in absenting themselves; that it belonged to them to proclaim the general wishes of the nation; that no intermediate power could exist between them and the throne; and that the title of *known and acknowledged representatives* of the nation belonged to that assembly: That it no longer became them to defer the salutary work of restoring order to the nation, in the vain hope that the deputies now absent would unite with them, and partake the labours of re-establishing the glory and happiness of France."

After

June 16, 1789. After long and animated debates the commons, on the sixteenth of June, adopted the spirit of the abbé Seiyès's motion; rejecting at the same time the title of *known and acknowledged representatives of the nation*, and substituting in the place of it that of the **NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**.

The new assembly immediately took the necessary oaths, and, as the first act of authority, they declared that the different taxes collected throughout the kingdom, as never having received the consent of the nation, were illegal and null; but at the same time that the preservation and safety of the state demanded the continuation of them; and they therefore decreed, that they should be levied as before, until the time that the national assembly should be prorogued; but from the moment that event, from whatever cause it might proceed, should take place, then all imposts and contributions, which had not been nominally, formally and freely granted by the assembly, should entirely cease in every province of the kingdom.

At the same time the assembly declared, that as soon as they had ascertained the principles of the constitution, they would direct their attention to the public debt; placing from this moment the creditors of the state under the safeguard of the
honour

honour and faith of the French nation: And, to alleviate the fears of the people, a committee of subsistence was immediately established, to enquire into the causes of the dearth which at that moment afflicted the kingdom.

It is scarce possible to describe the different sensations and effects which this memorable day produced. The people, in the moment of triumph, abandoned themselves to all the intoxication of joy: "One hour," said they, "has destroyed the prejudices and slavery of eight hundred centuries; the nation has once more resumed its rights, and reason has again asserted her sway. The clergy and the nobles, beneath whose usurpations we have so long groaned, have vanished from our sight; the charm is broken, and the voice of the representatives of the commons is become the voice of the nation."

On the other side, the nobility and clergy watched the course of the torrent with a mixture of terror and indignation; they beheld the pretensions of the commons sweeping before them those exclusive privileges which had long been attached to their orders, and which long custom had almost converted into rights: "It is not," exclaimed they, "our own destruction that we lament; it is the subversion of the monarchy."

Nor

Nor could the sovereign himself be indifferent to the prospect before him: He had listened to the complaints of his people; he had restored the commons to their dearest and most ancient rights; but he had most probably given way to the flattering illusion, that it would always be in his power to restrain their zeal within certain bounds; it is not impossible that he had even conceived the hope, after using their influence to establish the new taxes, and restore regularity to the finances, that he might be able to let this popular assembly sink once more into disuse. But if he had indulged this pleasing dream, he was soon awakened from it by the new pretensions and declarations of the third estate. Borne away by the stream, the clergy and nobles seemed to stretch forth their hands and implore the protection of the crown; his favourites assailed his ears with dark and gloomy representations; even his royal consort is supposed to have joined in predicting the dangerous influence the commons were likely to acquire: The flexible disposition of Lewis was unequal to the weight of united solicitation; he yielded to the interested importunities of those around him; and determined once more to oppose the royal authority to the enthusiasm of the people.

Chapter

Chapter the Forty-Eighth.

FORTITUDE OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY — SPEECH AND DECLARATION OF THE KING — CONDUCT OF THE CLEROY AND NOBILITY — DECLARATION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY — JOINED BY THE DUKE OF ORLEANS AND SEVERAL OF THE NOBILITY — RE-UNION OF THE THREE ORDERS — MOVEMENT OF TROOPS — MARECHAL DE BROGLIO DECLARED GENERAL — COMMOTIONS AT PARIS — DISMISSAL OF MONSIEUR NECKER — INSURRECTION OF THE CAPITAL — TAKING OF THE BASTILE — EXECUTION OF THE MARQUIS DE LAUNAY — DISCONTENT OF THE ARMY — THE KING SIGNIFIES HIS CONSENT TO RECALL MONSIEUR NECKER — APPEARS AT PARIS — APPROVES OF MONSIEUR BAILLY AS MAYOR OF PARIS, AND THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE AS COLONEL GENERAL OF THE MILITIA — FATE OF MESSIEURS FOULON AND BERTHIER — FLIGHT OF COUNT D'ARTOIS, &c. — CONDUCT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

THE moment was now rapidly ap- June 21,
proaching, when that authority which the 1789.
national assembly had acquired by its eloquence,
was to be maintained by its courage and perse-
verance. On the twenty-first of June the depu-
ties, on presenting themselves at the entrance of

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the

the Saloon, found the door shut, and all admission precluded by a numerous guard. The reason assigned for this extraordinary step was the preparations for the king, who had declared his intention to be present on the twenty-third. Surprised, but undaunted, the members immediately adjourned to a neighbouring tennis-court, where they resolved, that in this alarming juncture the deputies of the nation ought to swear, "that they
" considered themselves inseparable; and that
" they would continue to assemble in every place
" practicable." A general enthusiasm prevailed; all unanimously crowded to take the oath; and this solemn association in defence of the common cause was reduced into writing by the secretary, and signed by every one present.

On the ensuing morning the assembly met in a church; and its numbers were again augmented by a considerable body of the clergy, who presented themselves to verify their powers. This fresh accession of strength, with the sanctity of the place affected, every mind; it was a moment of triumph to Mr. Bailly in particular, who having long distinguished himself as an academician, was at this important crisis nominated to preside in the national assembly.

On the twenty-third of June, the day that had been appointed by the king, the three orders assembled

sembled in the Grand Saloon of Versailles. His majesty opened the assembly by a speech, in which he complained of that division which prevailed among them, so fatal to the hopes of the people, and so contrary to the views of the sovereign. This discourse was followed by a declaration from the keeper of the seals: In the most decisive language it preserved the ancient distinction of the three orders as essential to the existence of the state; it established particular rules in future for their deliberations; it abolished, and declared void, the celebrated declaration of the commons on the seventeenth of the month, with all those that had followed, as illegal and unconstitutional; and it finished by declaring that the Saloon, which hitherto had been open, should be closed to the public in general.

A second declaration followed the first, in which the king announced all the favours which it was his intention to grant to his people; and concluded with, "I may truly say that no king has ever done so much for any nation whatsoever; but what subjects can have merited so much from their natural disposition as my own?"

The second declaration consisted of thirty-five articles, all of the utmost importance; taxes, loans, the actual state of the finances, the sums allotted to different departments for the mainten-

nance of the king's household, the consolidation of the public debt, and the abolition of the pecuniary privileges of the clergy and nobility; lettres de cachet, liberty of the press, of commerce, code civil and criminal, personal liberty, equality of imposts, with the establishment of provincial states, were points on which his majesty explained his wishes and his will. In addressing the assembly he added, "If you abandon Me in this honourable enterprise, I alone will establish the happiness of my people; it is seldom perhaps that the sole ambition of a sovereign is to prevail on his subjects to receive his favours."

On retiring, the king had commanded the three orders to separate immediately, and the next morning to assemble each in its respective chamber. The clergy, with the exception of a few, and the nobility, in obedience to the royal injunction, quitted instantly the Saloon; but the commons still remained, and debated with firmness on the measures likely to avert the destruction with which they were menaced from the intrigues of the court; at length the assembly broke up, after agreeing to the motion of the count de Mirabeau, "That the person of every deputy should be considered inviolable."

The interposition of the royal authority was not attended with the effects that had been fondly expected

expected at Versailles; it is probable, had the king's declaration been announced earlier, that the commons would scarce have ventured to have opposed themselves to their sovereign's indignation; but they had already begun to consider themselves as the representatives of the nation at large; they had felt their influence; and they were determined to preserve it, or to perish in the attempt.

Another circumstance that greatly diminished the effect of the king's declaration was the absence of Monsieur Necker; that minister was still the idol of the multitude, and even many of the deputies regarded his experience and abilities as absolutely requisite to restore order to the finances. From his absenting himself at so critical a juncture, it was concluded that he by no means approved the royal declaration; this supposition was confirmed by his offering at that moment to resign; the populace, who considered on his retreat the vessel of the state as deserted, crowded round his house, and when assured that he was still to remain at the helm, testified their joy by acclamations and illuminations.

Every circumstance, however trifling, served to agitate and inflame the minds of the people; the court and capital about this time began to divide into two parties; those who adhered to the preten-

sion of the clergy and nobility, were distinguished by the title of ARISTOCRATS; while those who declared themselves on the popular side, were described as DEMOCRATS. The angry countenances of the Parisians also foretold the storm that was brooding; several prisons were forced; the debtors and criminals were set at liberty; and the French guards were loudly called upon by their fellow citizens to quit the cause of despotism, and to range themselves beneath the standard of liberty.

The clouds gathered on every side; the weakness of the royal councils, the boldness of the commons, and the enthusiasm of the people, all demanded the most mature reflection; the court of Versailles no longer inspired confidence or terror; and even could its fortitude have been relied on, to establish its former ascendancy, it was necessary to wade through torrents of blood, The flames of civil war must have been kindled, and the subject who had fought the battles of despotism, at best, could but have found his reward in a splendid slavery.

The pretensions of the commons, on the other hand, seemed to have past the bounds of moderation; but the road which they had chosen led to liberty: It was indeed thorny and rugged; it had been long left unexplored; but the toil of the

the traveller was cheered by hope ; and his labour was to be rewarded by the most inestimable of human blessings.

To that blessing the nobility themselves were not entirely insensible. From the first moment that the voice of freedom had been heard, we have beheld the duke of Orleans attentive to her summons : As first prince of the blood, his situation allowed of no increase of dignity ; his immense revenue, perhaps, exceeded that of any other subject in Europe ; to these advantages no change of government could add ; but he was conscious they must have been considerably diminished by that system which adopted as its basis the equality of mankind,

Yet one reward remained, the approbation of his fellow citizens ; to merit this he had early subjected himself to the royal displeasure ; in the beginning of the present reign we behold him, with his father, exiled from the court ; his protest in eighty-eight had been attended with his banishment to Villars Cotterel ; on his recall his conduct had still been consistent, and he had supported the demand of the third estate to an equality of voices in the states-general with the clergy and the nobility ; he now, in concert with about fifty of the nobility, de-

25th June.

termined to join the national assembly ; and endeavoured

deavoured to put an end to that schism which threatened to shake the kingdom to its very foundations : The people were not indifferent to this fresh instance of his zeal for the public welfare ; and they bestowed on their illustrious champion, the glorious title of *Prince of Patriots*.

The clergy and nobility who yet remained separate, had published their resolution to adhere to the royal declaration of the twenty-third ; but whether the influence of the minister of the finances for a moment prevailed, or the king yielded to his natural instability and desire of peace, in a letter that his majesty addressed to the two privileged orders, after assuring them how sensible he was of their fidelity in accepting his declaration, he added, That in the present situation of affairs, he could not dispense with recommending them to join those, who had refused to accede to the proposal he had made.

This celebrated junction was effected on the 27th of June. Several of the nobility and the higher rank of the clergy, still combated against the decisions of the assembly being determined by a majority of voices instead of orders ; but their feeble attempts were overwhelmed by the numbers of the commons ; and a protest was the only fruit of their long and unsuccessful opposition.

The re-union of the different orders had inspir-
ed

ed the people with the most lively hopes of tranquillity ; but those hopes were soon blasted ; the influence of the queen and the baron de Breteuil seemed again to predominate at Versailles ; and the sovereign had scarce consented to the wishes of his people, before he was persuaded to repent of the concessions he had granted. Large bodies of troops were directed to march towards Paris ; a considerable camp was formed near the gates of the capital ; the avenues to Versailles were guarded by a formidable artillery ; numerous sentinels were planted round the palace ; and the marechal de Broglio, grown grey in the wars of Germany, was summoned to command the forces assembled in the Isle of France.

These hostile preparations neither eluded the vigilance of the national assembly, nor were beheld with indifference by the citizens of Paris. The former contented themselves with addressing his majesty to withdraw those troops which filled with apprehensions the minds of his faithful subjects ; assuring him at the same time, that he might rely on the loyalty of the national assembly. But the latter, impatient of the controul with which they were menaced, had already proceeded to acts of violence, and had delivered by force some soldiers of the French guards, who
had

had been confined by their colonel for military offences.

The indiscretion of the citizens of Paris was overlooked and pardoned by Lewis ; but to the address of the national assembly, the sovereign replied, that the disorder of the capital had rendered it necessary to assemble an armed force in its neighbourhood ; but that the deliberations of the national assembly should ever be regarded as free and sacred ; and if the deputies entertained any apprehensions, they were at liberty to adjourn to Soissons or Noyon.

July 4. The fortitude of the National Assembly disdained an alternative, which must for ever have alienated from them the minds of the capital : The moment was arrived for the election of a new president, in the room of monsieur Bailly ; a considerable majority of voices were in favour of the duke d'Orleans ; but that prince, at the same time that he expressed himself sensible of the honour, with sentiments of moderation and diffidence, declined the offer ; and the archbishop of Vienne was elected in his place.

The state of the colonies had claimed the attention of the assembly ; that of St. Domingo had obtained the right of naming six deputies ; and the National Assembly, to accelerate the public

public business, determined in future to divide itself into a number of committees.

The scarcity with which France was afflicted became the principal and most important object of deliberation; the capital bore with impatience the high price of corn, and the murmurs of the inhabitants were loud and general: It was at this moment, when the greatest address was necessary to sooth their discontented minds, that the court ventured on a measure as unpopular as it was impolitic.

On the eleventh of July, monsieur Necker, who had so long commanded the confidence of the multitude, received the royal orders to quit suddenly the kingdom. The first intelligence of his departure filled Paris with consternation; he was considered as a sacrifice to the patriotic sentiments he had avowed; the people regarded his exile as the first step to the subversion of their freedom; the exchange was shut; the public spectacles were suspended; and the crowds that assembled tumultuously in the streets, proclaimed by their countenances their grief and indignation. Their fury at last blazed out with open violence; the bells were sounded on every side as signals for the citizens to arm: The licentiousness of the rabble, who, during the night, had pillaged several houses, seemed to authorize this measure.

measure. The city, to facilitate the election of deputies, had been divided into sixty districts; and the electors, on the first alarm, repaired to their respective departments; they were classed into different regiments, they assumed a cockade of various colours, which was dignified with the title of National; while the court, whose versatility had provoked the insurrection, seemed lost in astonishment at its progress.

The national assembly were no sooner informed of the disorders which raged through the capital, than they dispatched a numerous deputation to the king, to represent their concern, and the dangers which threatened the state. The favourites who had despised in a moment of tranquillity the rage of the populace, now trembled for their personal safety; the answer from the throne was conceived in terms the most satisfactory; the king assured the deputies that he would withdraw the regular troops from the environs of the capital; that he desired his intentions might be made known to the Parisians; and that, to maintain the public order, he permitted the citizens to form themselves into military bodies, while he himself would select the proper officers to command them.

But before Paris could be assured of the favourable intentions of her sovereign, her streets
had

had already been stained with civil blood; the regiment of Royal Allemand, commanded by the prince de Lambesc, had been stationed in the gardens of the Thuilleries; but the colonel, apprehensive that the increasing numbers of the people might preclude his retreat, gave order to his soldiers to force their way through the crowd; in this attempt, the prince is reported to have wounded himself an unarmed citizen. This unfortunate incident awakened again the fury of the people; the regiment of Royal Allemand was attacked by every weapon that instant rage could supply. The French guards ranged themselves on the side of the populace; and it was not without some loss that the prince de Lambesc secured the retreat of his regiment.

The croud, elated by success, precipitated themselves on the hotel of invalids; they there possessed themselves of thirty thousand fusils; while the guards, that might have defended this important charge, waited in vain the orders of monsieur de Bezenval, the general of the Swiss troops, and were tame spectators of the insult. Each attempt confirmed the courage of the populace; armed with the trophies of their new victory, they now pressed forward to the Bastile, and with loud cries devoted to destruction that celebrated fortress of despotism.

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The massy walls of the Bastile, with the wide and deep ditch that surrounded them, might have defied the frantic valour of the insurgents, had they been confided to any other person than the marquis de Launay. But the conduct of that officer was equally fatal to his life and reputation; he rejected the demand of the people to remove the artillery from the ramparts; yet he neglected to raise the draw-bridge, and suffered a crowd to place themselves upon it: On these unhappy people, who peaceably awaited the effect of a parley which he held, he suddenly fired; several were the victims of this guilty rashness; but the populace instead of being intimidated, were only irritated by the fate of their companions; they pressed forwards in thousands to avenge them; in vain did the wretched governor propose terms of capitulation; their fury was deaf to every entreaty, and superior to every obstacle: Resistance was in vain; each avenue was forced; monsieur de Launay, a prisoner, loaded with insults, was dragged to the place of public execution; and his head severed from his body, was carried in triumph through the streets.

Monsieur de Lofme Salbrai, the major of the Bastile, whose blameless life had been passed in alleviating the sufferings of his prisoners, with several

veral other officers of inferior note, were the victims to the misconduct of the governor, and the undiscerning rage of the people; once having tasted of blood, the multitude became insatiate; and the guilty day was marked by the destruction of monsieur Desflesselles, prevot de Marchands : The refusal of that officer to deliver the arms entrusted to him to the insurgents, and a rumour that he had excited the unfortunate Launay to resistance, proved fatal to his life; and he was torn to pieces by the barbarous madness of the sanguinary populace.

If the state of the capital was deplorable, that of the army was scarce less critical; the example of the French guards had pervaded the camp; the soldiers openly declared their resolution not to arm against their fellow-citizens; the defection became general; and the mareschal de Broglio, was reluctantly compelled to inform the king, that his majesty must no longer place any dependence on the army that he had been appointed to command.

The deputies, who had been dispatched from the national assembly to restore order to the capital, had been witnesses to the late sanguinary scenes of commotion; they now returned to inform that Assembly, that the voice of the nation at large demanded the recall of monsieur

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Necker, as a pledge of the sincerity of the court; and a second deputation was appointed to represent to his majesty, the dangers with which every moment was pregnant.

The flattering prospect which the courtiers had placed before the eyes of the king, was now vanished from his sight: The dream, that the royal authority would have inspired instant and implicit submission, was no more; a people without government, an army without obedience, the provinces discontented, and the capital in revolt, formed a picture hideously alarming. Nothing remained but to sooth the minds of the people by compliance; the camp, which had spread the fatal alarm throughout Paris, was instantly broken up; the different regiments were dismissed to the distant quarters they had before occupied; the new ministers, who had scarce yet entered upon their employments, were removed; and numerous couriers were dispatched after monsieur Necker, to solicit his return. The letter from his majesty to that statesman, expressed his regret at yielding to the misrepresentations of his enemies; it invited him once more to share his confidence, from which he never again should be excluded; and expressed his hope, that he would comply with the wishes of his sovereign and fellow citizens.

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The royal letter to monsieur Necker was accompanied by the following from the national assembly: "The national assembly has already, Sir, declared by a solemn act, that you carried with you their esteem and regret; this honourable testimony has been sent to you on their part, and you must have received it. This morning they had come to a resolution to address the king, requesting your return; this was the result of their own wishes, united to those of the capital, which loudly demands you.

"The king has deigned to anticipate our desire, and has announced to us your recall; gratitude immediately impelled us to wait on his majesty, who has given a fresh token of his confidence, by charging us to send you this letter.

"The national assembly, Sir, presses you to yield to the desires of his majesty; your virtues and your talents cannot receive a more glorious or a more flattering incitement. This will justify our confidence; you will not prefer your own repose to that of the public; you will not decline to aid the beneficent intentions of his majesty in favour of his people. Every moment is precious; the nation, its king, its representatives await you."

While the royal couriers, with these flattering marks of approbation, were pursuing the flying

steps of monsieur Necker, the sovereign himself was occupied in endeavouring to establish harmony again in the capital. For this purpose his presence at Paris was deemed necessary, and he entered that city amidst the acclamations of its inhabitants; he was met by monsieur Bailly, who during the late disorders had been chosen mayor of Paris, and whose election the king had been pleased to confirm; that officer presented to his majesty the keys of the capital, addressing him at the same time in the following memorable words: "These, Sire, are the same keys which were presented to Henry the Fourth; he came to conquer his people; this day it is the people who re-conquer their king."

Whatever might be the secret mortification of the sovereign at this singular harangue, his whole conduct was such as could not but challenge the applause of the most zealous champions of patriotism. The marquis de la Fayette, whose enthusiastic ardour had impelled him to cross the Atlantic, and to fight beneath the banners of America, was now selected by his countrymen to command the militia they had newly formed; and the choice of the Parisians was sanctioned by the approbation of his majesty; who presented a new instance of compliance with the wishes of the multitude, by shewing himself at the windows of the Hotel de Ville with the national cockade.

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After these repeated concessions, the king was permitted to return once more to Versailles, but the calm that his presence had diffused throughout the capital was deceitful and of short duration; the minds of the people still remained agitated; distrust and cruelty still characterised the multitude; and the slightest suspicions were sufficient in their eyes to sanction the most barbarous executions. Each day beheld some new sacrifice to their sanguinary caprice; but the superior situations of messieurs Foulon and Berthier, have distinguished their fate from not less innocent, though less conspicuous, victims of popular fury.

The unfortunate monsieur de Foulon, on the dismissal of monsieur Necker, had been named to a post in the new administration; though in conjunction with his colleagues he had retired from office on the recall of that statesman, yet his retreat served not to extinguish the hatred of the Parisians; his disposition, naturally severe and uncomplying, probably increased the general dislike; and an expression that public rumour had once attributed to him, "that hay was food good enough for the common people," inflamed the murmurs of discontent into open menaces of destruction. Sensible of the storm that threatened him he had retired into the country, and hoped

in disguise and privacy to await the return of general tranquillity. But it was the misfortune of this gentleman to be equally obnoxious to his tenants and the Parisians; by the former his place of retreat was discovered to the latter; he was dragged in bloody triumph to the capital; judges were appointed to try him; but the impatience of the multitude could ill brook the forms of justice; he was forced from the guards; the cord of a lanthorn supplied the instrument of execution; his body was dragged through the kennels; and his head, with the mouth filled with hay, was carried through the streets to the eternal disgrace of the capital.

Monsieur de Berthier, the son-in-law of Monsieur de Foulon, though more amiable in his character, was scarce less culpable in the eyes of the people. An idle rumour prevailed that he had furnished the troops lately encamped in the environs of Paris with a considerable quantity of ammunition; he was also accused with not only having monopolized great quantities of corn, but also with having destroyed the growing harvest, to enhance the price of the grain in his possession. Though his fate was longer deferred, he had reason to regret the more speedy death of his father-in-law. The head of the unfortunate Foulon was thrust into his carriage, and he was compelled by

by the enraged populace to salute it. This painful compliance served only to procrastinate the hour of his destruction ; the populace were deaf to every solicitation, and the last moments of his life were embittered by reproach, insult, and torture.

By the fate of messieurs Foulon and Berthier, messieurs Bailly and de la Fayette were taught, that it is more easy to attain to the dignity, than to exercise the authority of office. The former, from a peaceful academician, was transferred to a high political situation, and invested with the new title of mayor of Paris ; and the ambition of the latter, which had early precipitated him amidst the storms of civil commotion, had been gratified with the title of Commander of the Militia. Both had strenuously exerted themselves in favour of the late unhappy victims ; but the crowd were equally deaf to their intreaties and remonstrances ; and they were now taught, though too late, how much more easy it is to excite than to appease the multitude.

The flight of more illustrious personages probably only preserved them from the fury of the people. The count d'Artois and the prince of Conde were avowedly attached to the ancient government ; the former, it was supposed, had influenced the dismissal of monsieur Necker, and had

advised his royal brother to the most decisive measures in defence of his authority; the marechal duc de Broglie had braved the resentment of the Parisians by accepting the command of the army which had been lately encamped at their gates; and the family of Polignac, in partaking the favours of the queen, more than partook of the odium which at present pursued that princess. These had all found their safety in a precipitate flight; and had quitted a kingdom where their sentiments had rendered them eminently obnoxious, and where the regard of their sovereign could no longer afford them protection.

The situation of that sovereign was dreary and forlorn; a gloomy silence reigned through his palace of Versailles; his courtiers and favourites had been torn from his side; his brother was driven into exile; his capital was polluted with the blood of his subjects; that loyalty, so long the characteristic of his people, was extinguished; that fidelity, so long the prominent feature of his troops, was no more; and some painful sensations must have accompanied the letter which he addressed to the marquis de la Fayette, and by which even the French guards were permitted to enter into the national militia, and at the same time to receive their former pay.

The influence of the national assembly had risen
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in proportion to the diminution of the royal authority; yet that body could not behold the late frantic and bloody excesses of the capital without secret anguish and horror. A populace enamoured of cruelty, insatiate of blood; abandoned to licentious caprice, deaf to entreaty, and impatient of authority; the scourge of despotism wrested from the hand that had held it, but that of anarchy impending over their heads.

Yet amidst every danger their constancy never forsook them; the archbishop of Vienne had conducted himself through his stormy presidency with firmness and ability; and in his place the duke of Liancourt, who had been early distinguished by his patriotic zeal, was raised to the vacant dignity. To appease the capital, corn was brought from the most distant parts of the kingdom, and agents were dispatched to every court in Europe to solicit supplies. The minds of the citizens were assuaged by the hopes of returning plenty; and the affections of the soldiers were confirmed by the decree which abolished corporal punishment; a system of discipline which had been received in the armies of France with universal detestation.

Chapter the Forty-Ninth.

DISTURBANCES IN THE PROVINCES—DEVASTATIONS OF THE PEOPLE—MONSIEUR NECKER IS INFORMED AT BASLE OF THE REVOLUTION—HIS ANSWER TO THE KING, AND THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY—SETS OUT FOR PARIS—ATTEMPTS TO PROCURE THE RELEASE OF THE BARON DE BESEVAL—HIS RECEPTION AT PARIS—RECOMMENDS A GENERAL AMNESTY—GENERAL AMNESTY DECREED BY THE ELECTORS—REVOKED BY THE DISTRICTS—RESIGNATION OF THE ELECTORS—INSURRECTION AT SAINT DENYS—AT CAEN IN NORMANDY—MURDER OF THE MARQUIS DE BELZUNCE—COMMOTIONS AT STRASBOURG—AT BREST—CRUELTY OF THE PEOPLE—MONSIEUR CHAPPELIER CHOSEN PRESIDENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY—DEBATES ON THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN—ARREST ON THE LATE DISTURBANCES—CELEBRATED MOTIONS OF THE VISCOUNT NOAILLES—ABOLITION OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM—NEW REGULATIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY—GENERAL ENTHUSIASM THROUGHOUT THE CITIES AND PROVINCES OF FRANCE.

THE tempest which agitated the capital swept in its course the most distant provinces; the example of Paris and Versailles prevailed throughout; the national cockade was universally displayed;

played; and from the frontiers of the Mediterranean sea to the Alps, from the Pyrenees to the ocean, the defection was general.

Two millions of peasants in arms severely avenged the injuries they had formerly endured; with savage joy they directed the flames of destruction against the seats of their religion and nobility. The rich edifices of the church, the lofty castles of the nobles were confounded in one general ruin; the archives of the great, the titles of ancient possessions, were in a moment destroyed; those owners deemed themselves happy who could escape by a precipitate flight; while those who were more tardy or less fortunate, frequently were exposed to the most barbarous and lingering deaths. Some imperfect estimation may be formed of the general devastation, since in the province of Burgundy alone, thirty-two seats of the nobility were levelled to the ground; while in Brittany, and Normandy, the ravages of the insurgents were still more considerable.

The departure of Monsieur Necker had blown the embers of discontent into open flame, but his return it was still hoped would extinguish the conflagration. That gentleman had directed his hasty steps from Bruxelles toward his native country of Geneva; at Basle he was informed of the arrival of the Dutchess of Polignac, who was flying

flying from the bloody resentment of the insurgents; from her he first learnt the events which had immediately taken place on his departure; the insurrection of the capital, the defection of the troops, and the present intentions of the sovereign; under these circumstances he determined to remain at Basle, and await the orders of the king.

These soon arrived, accompanied by the letter of the national assembly: To the first he replied with every expression of gratitude, and every assurance of attachment; to the last he answered, by declaring, that though it had long been his wish, at this late period of his life, no further to have interested himself in the fate of France, than by fervent prayers for her prosperity, yet on receiving the letter of the national assembly, he thought it his duty to present to them his respectful acknowledgments in person; and to prove to the king and the nation, that nothing could relax that zeal which had ever been the leading principle of his life.

In conformity with these declarations Monsieur Necker quitted Basle, and pressed forwards to Versailles; on his route at Villenau, he found the Baron de Besenval, late general of the Swiss troops, and who was travelling towards Switzerland with a royal passport, arrested by the militia
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of the town. On this occasion monsieur Necker endeavoured to avail himself of his own popularity, and the temporary enthusiasm of the people, by attempting to procure the release of that gentleman; but it was in vain that he urged his own responsibility for the liberty of the Baron, and acknowledged the obligation that would be conferred; the militia were deaf to his solicitations, and notwithstanding his remonstrances, determined to retain their captive.

Whatever mortification monsieur Necker might have endured by the refusal of the militia of Villenau, was immediately effaced by his reception at the capital. His entry there was regarded as a public triumph; an immense concourse of people pressed to meet him, a numerous guard conducted him with military honours through the city; the air resounded with acclamations of "Long live the Nation! Long live Necker!" Every house was illuminated; but it could not escape the observation of the spectator, that the street of Vivienne, the chief residence of bankers and speculators who had enriched themselves by the loans of the minister, was the most splendid in distinguishing its zeal.

Though the humanity of monsieur Necker had failed in extricating the Baron de Besenval at Villenau, he could not but flatter himself, that
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his solicitations would have been attended with better success in the capital. He had been followed by the plaudits of the citizens; he had been loaded with the panegyrics of the national assembly; and when he presented himself at the hall of the electors, he seized the favourable moment, and urged the propriety of a general amnesty.

This request was seconded by the eloquence of the Count de Clermont Tonnerre; and a decree was immediately drawn up and signed by the electors, importing, that at the intercession of monsieur Necker, and to render memorable the day that had restored that minister to France, the assembly, in the name of the citizens of the capital, pardoned all its enemies proscribed all acts of violence in opposition to the present decree, and considered those only as enemies of the nation, who should hereafter interrupt by any excesses the public tranquillity.

The satisfaction of monsieur Necker at this decision was but of short duration; and to explain the revocation of a decree so consistent with true policy, and so honourable to humanity, it is necessary to ascend to circumstances which marked the first steps of the revolution.

To facilitate the nomination of deputies, on first convening the states-general, Paris had been divided into sixty districts; these districts had appointed

appointed a certain number of *electors*, as they were termed, whose voices were finally to decide the choice of the deputies. But the electors, though certainly composing no legal body, confined not their cares to that single object ; they demanded an apartment of the Hotel de Ville to assemble in ; and the essential services they had rendered in contributing towards supplying Paris with provisions, for some time endeared them to the citizens.

But the first moments of transport were scarce over, when the inhabitants in general began to regard the electors with suspicion and distrust ; a rumour that this assembly proposed to render itself perpetual, increased the public jealousy and dislike ; and in lieu of this illegal mass, it was determined that each district should appoint two deputies, who should occupy themselves in tracing a plan for the municipality, and in providing the subsistence of the capital.

It was these hundred and twenty deputies, who had proclaimed again Monsieur Bailly, mayor, and the Marquis de la Fayette, commander general of the militia, of Paris ; these two civil and military chiefs had hitherto held their situation rather by the acclamations than the suffrages of their fellow-citizens : They now addressed a circular letter to all the districts, in which they invited

vited them to approve their nomination; and having received a solemn confirmation of the choice of the deputies, they took the necessary oaths.

But the appointment of the deputies, though it controuled, did not dissolve the general assembly of the electors; the former had presented themselves before the latter; and after thanking them for their zeal, and inviting them to concur in mutual efforts for the public benefit, they had even confirmed the several committees for the subsistence of the city, and the regulation of the police, contenting themselves with adding four of the new deputies to each committee.

It must be allowed on this occasion, that the general assembly of the electors conducted themselves with great moderation; they declared they were ready to desist from the exercise of all authority, as soon as a majority of the districts should command, and as the new deputies could take charge of the public affairs; and they added, that if they did not immediately suspend their meetings, it was that the deputies themselves had entreated them to continue their labours, so necessary to the general good.

Yet this declaration was far from recovering the public opinion; and their steps were still attended by jealousy: It was at the moment
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when affairs were thus delicately situated, that monsieur Necker arrived at Paris; and in soliciting the pardon of the baron de Besenval, and a general amnesty, unfortunately addressed himself to the general assembly of the electors.

We have already related the compliance of that assembly with his wishes; but no sooner was their concurrence made known than the districts took fire at their presumption, "What," exclaimed the people; "at the moment that the National Assembly prepares to appoint a committee, to enquire out those whose treasonable practices have been levelled at the nation; at the moment that it has promised to establish a tribunal to punish those traitors to the people, does an assembly without power, without title, without character, dare to pronounce an amnesty, a general pardon? The electors pardon! Then also they have the right to punish; but who has instituted them judges of the enemies of the state? Who has given them power to annul the decree of the national assembly?"

Even the reputation of monsieur Necker did not entirely escape that odium which attended the late decree of the electors: It was insinuated, that he had sacrificed the public cause to his own private interests; and in screening the
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baron de Besenval, from impending punishment; it was asserted that he had purchased the support of a powerful party : " We shall soon," said they, " behold the Conspirators against the state triumphant again at the court ; braving the indignation of an injured nation, and exercising their vengeance on the champions of freedom."

Such were the rumours circulated with industry, and received with facility ; and while the capital blazed with illuminations for the return of its favourite minister, his first, and perhaps his most salutary counsel, was accompanied by every mark of public disapprobation.

The deputies of the districts had joined in condemning the arrest of the electors in the most pointed terms ; they commanded the baron de Besenval still to be detained a prisoner ; or if already released, they authorized the different municipalities to exert the utmost diligence in again securing him, and keeping him in confinement, till they should receive further instructions.

The fortitude of the electors was not proof against the clamour that pursued them. By a second decree they endeavoured to explain away the first ; and asserted that their indulgence extended no further than to secure the accused from instant

stant and irregular execution ; but was by no means to be construed into an intention of screening the guilty from that punishment which legal and deliberate justice might think proper to inflict on their crimes. After having thus attempted, by this degrading retraction, to efface the impression occasioned by their hasty but humane arrest, they renounced all functions with which, during the public exigency, they had been charged ; and resigned their powers into the hands of the deputies of the districts.

In consequence of this explanation, monsieur de Bezenval, whose opportune absence had prevented to pillage without resistance the hotel of invalids, and had furnished the fury of the people with those arms which they afterwards turned so successfully against the Bastille, was conveyed a prisoner to Brie-Comte-Robert ; and was exposed from popular caprice to a trial, which his negligence might with more propriety perhaps have subjected him to, from the resentment of his sovereign.

Monsieur Necker could not entirely conceal his chagrin at the mortifying disappointment he had encountered ; “ My happiness has been of short duration,” was his concise but pathetic expression, in a letter addressed to the late e-

lectors. That hope in which he had so lately dressed himself, was now vanished; and he perceived too late, that though his name might be successfully used to the destruction of his fellow-citizens, his influence was of small extent when exerted to save them.

His retreat had excited a general insurrection, but his return was far from inspiring an universal calm. That scarcity, which had resulted from the sterility of the last autumn, was still severely felt; and if not immediately the source, furnished a frequent pretext for popular insurrection. At St. Denys, the inhabitants surrounded the house of the *Sieur Chatel*, lieutenant to the mayor, and with loud menaces, compelled him to lower the price of bread to a penny in the pound. Even this concession did not satisfy the multitude; their secret murmurs broke out into open rage; headed by three soldiers of the regiment of Provence, they forced the house of the unhappy object of their fury; for a moment, *monieur Chatel* deferred his fate by escaping to a neighbouring steeple; but the place of his retreat was unfortunately discovered; he was dragged forth, and sacrificed to the popular madness with circumstances too barbarous to be related.

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The city of Caen, in Normandy, was destined to partake the fatal effects of civil commotion, and to behold her streets polluted with blood: Her citizens, on the first turbulent movements of Paris, had followed the example of the capital; they had assumed the national cockade; they had seized the citadel; possessed themselves of the arms; forced the state prisons; and released those criminals which the government had confined for carrying on a contraband trade. The municipality yielded to a storm which they were incapable of opposing with success; to sooth the minds of the inhabitants, the price of bread was diminished; a militia was established; and order seemed once more restored.

But a new incident served to revive that discontent, which was rather concealed than extinguished. Some soldiers of the regiment of Artois, then in garrison at Rennes, happened to appear in the streets of Caen, adorned with medals, the recompense of services which they had rendered to the patriotic party; between these soldiers and some dragoons of the regiment of Bourbon, a quarrel arose, in which the former were oppressed by the numbers of the latter, and their medals were wrested from them. The vanquished filled the city with their com-

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plaints; they accused the marquis de Belzunce, major of the regiment of Bourbon, to have excited his soldiers by the promise of pecuniary recompence to this outrage. The citizens sided with the soldiers of Artois; the bells sounded the alarm; the peasants hastened from the neighbouring villages; and the quarters of the regiment of Bourbon were invested by above twenty thousand men, provided with cannon.

The municipality of the city, equally desirous with the officers of the regiment of Bourbon to prevent the effusion of blood, entered into a parley; the marquis de Belzunce protested his innocence, and offered to appear before the Hotel de Ville, and give convincing proofs of his assertions: His regiment demanded hostages for his security; these were delivered; and the major, conscious of his integrity, surrendered himself with an undaunted countenance: He was surrounded by the militia, and conducted to the citadel as the place of greatest safety. Soon after, the marquis of Harcourt, who was governor of the province of Normandy, sent orders to the regiment of Bourbon to quit Caen, in hopes that its departure would quiet the minds of the inhabitants: Tranquillity indeed seemed already established; and such was the confidence of the regiment of Bourbon in the citizens, that they voluntarily restored the hostages they had received.

ceived. But they had scarce marched out of the city, than they had reason to repent their misplaced generosity; the croud once more rose in arms, pierced the feeble national guard, burst open the gates of the citadel, dragged the helpless marquis de Belzunce from his asylum; and after putting an end to his life, subjected his carcase to a thousand unworthy insults.

Straßbourg was the theatre of scenes more sanguinary: That city, in uniting herself to France, had preserved her ancient customs and form of government, which in a great measure resembled those of the other imperial cities of Germany. But that constitution, which in the beginning had been a pure democracy, had insensibly been converted into an aristocracy; and the citizens, restrained by a numerous garrison, could only vent their complaints in ineffectual murmurs.

The election of deputies to the states-general revived the hopes of the citizens in general, and depressed those of the magistrates of Straßbourg, who trembled for the powers they had usurped. But the measures of the states-general were at first tardy and indecisive; and we have already noticed the embarrassments that occupied their early moments; yet the instant that the states had assumed the title of the national assembly, the acclamations of the citizens of Straßbourg were

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mingled with the most menacing appearances; and the magistrates, to allay the immediate discontent, held forth the most flattering promises.

No sooner did the latter fondly imagine the hour of danger was past, than these promises were evaded or retracted. The inhabitants, enraged at their breach of faith, flew to arms; they surrounded the Hotel de Ville in thousands; the rabble, impatient of pillage, seized the favourable instant; they poured from their dark retreat, intermixed with the citizens, and urged that attack, from which the entreaties of the commander of the garrison would probably have dissuaded the more respectable class. Ladders were instantly procured; six or seven hundred men mounted with that alacrity which the hopes of rapine inspire; the doors and windows were forced by the assailants; and the crowd dispersed themselves through the apartments of the Hotel de Ville.

The trembling magistrates escaped indeed their fury by secret avenues which were unknown to the insurgents; but the chests of the city treasure were broke open: The fund for the support of the orphans was seized and divided; the furniture was destroyed; and the thoughtless crowd, exploring the cellars which were filled with the choicest wines, gave a loose to intoxication, and
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were in several instances the victims of their own excess.

The disorder now became general; the seditious multitude threatened to set fire to the city in several places; and the officers of the garrison, who had conducted themselves throughout with the greatest forbearance and moderation, now ordered the troops under arms. Strong detachments were appointed to the arsenals, the magazines, the treasury, and the prisons; sentinels were placed before the doors of the magistrates for their protection: But the same disposition prevailed, to prevent the effusion of blood; and the injunctions of the officers to their soldiers, were, to form a barrier with their ranks before their several posts, and to make use of their arms only in their personal defence.

The insurgents were less awed by the appearance of the military, than they were encouraged by their inactivity; several houses were sacked, and others were threatened with the flames. It was at length determined to employ force, as the only means of preserving the city from general destruction; the disorderly multitude were forced to yield to the charge of the regulars; several were dangerously wounded, a greater number were secured: Of the latter, one who had been

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most active was instantly executed, and two more were condemned to the galleys.

The Municipality, grateful for the services which the troops had rendered, had ordered them a pecuniary gratification ; this had been expended at the tavern ; but no sooner were the soldiers heated with wine than they plunged into excesses still more fatal than those which they had restrained : They seized their arms, and despising the voice of their officers, dispersed themselves through the trembling city ; pillaged the houses, forced open the state prisons, and compelled the regiments of Alsace and Darmstadt, who had hitherto preserved their discipline, to partake their guilty orgies.

Satiated at length of plunder, and oppressed with liquor, they at last suffered themselves to be conducted by their officers to their quarters : Shame the next morning extorted some marks of compunction, and a promise of future submission ; and the prudent precautions of monsieur de Rochambeau, governor of the province, contributed to restore the long-lost tranquillity of Strasbourg.

At the other extremities of the kingdom the greatest dissensions prevailed between the garrison and the citizens of Brest. Two thousand of the inhabitants of Nantes, completely armed, had
marched

marched to support the cause of the latter ; and the most fatal consequences were only averted by the interposition and concessions of the municipality : The citizens, however, persisted in presenting a detail of their grievances to the national assembly, and in demanding the count d'Estaing as a governor ; whose nomination, it was expected, would extinguish the jealousy and restore the harmony of the province of Brittany.

At Mans, monsieur de Montesson perished by a musquet shot, after beholding his father-in-law torn to pieces by the populace ; in Languedoc, monsieur de Barras was murdered in the sight of his wife, then pregnant, and ready to lie-in : In short, from one frontier to the other, the enraged peasantry were armed against their former lords ; and the Seine and the Loire, the Saone and the Rhone, blushed with the noblest blood of France.

The national assembly could not but be deeply impressed with the disorders and barbarities which afflicted and disgraced the kingdom ; but it was asserted, that these were only to be considered as the temporary effects of a great and unprecedented revolution ; that these cruelties, which made humanity shudder, were less to be attributed to a savage disposition in the people, than to that arbitrary government which had so long trampled under foot the most sacred rights of mankind ;
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and that no reason appeared to despair of the public safety.

Yet even that assembly, from whose councils and decisions so much was expected, and on whose prudence and unanimity the grandeur and happiness of France depended, nourished already in its bosom the seeds of faction and division. The duke of Liancourt had now possessed the dignity of president for a fortnight, the time allotted to that situation: A considerable majority had given their votes to raise monsieur Thouret to the vacant chair; but the party that had opposed that gentleman's elevation, still continued their hostile intrigues. On this occasion, monsieur Thouret preferred the service of his country to the personal distinction that had been conferred on him; He instantly wrote a letter to his predecessor, desiring him to deliver into the hands of the national assembly, that power with which they had so lately entrusted him; and monsieur Chappelier, an advocate by profession, and deputy for Brittany, and who had already distinguished himself by his bold and turbulent eloquence, was nominated in his place.

The assembly immediately resumed a subject, which for several days before had been the object of their discussion; and the celebrated declaration of "THE RIGHTS OF MAN" was agitated with
unwearied

unwearied zeal and ardour. The inconvenience of this declaration was urged by the duke de Levi, the bishop of Langres, and several other members of distinction. They asserted, in a monarchy, where necessary circumstances are so often opposed to theoretical principles, that the veil could not be totally removed from the eyes of the people without the greatest imprudence: It was a secret, they said, that ought to be concealed till a new and approved constitution had placed the state in that security, that it could be revealed without danger. A declaration of that nature, they observed, was not necessary to break the chains of tyranny; it was just laws and prudent regulations that the people demanded, and not abstracted maxims of metaphysics, useless to the multitude; which they were neither capable of comprehending, and which could not be subjected to their view without the most evident hazard.

The ridicule to which the champions of the Declaration beheld themselves exposed, did not prevent them from manfully combating in its defence. The comte de Montmorenci, whose long and illustrious train of ancestors placed him only second to the princes of the blood, with messieurs Mounier, de Lally-Tollendal, de Mirabeau, Target, and Barnave, all distinguished themselves

themselves on this occasion. They strenuously maintained, that it was absolutely necessary that this declaration should precede the formation of a constitution. " That to form a free people, it
" was requisite to convince them in what con-
" sisted their rights and their liberty; that this
" declaration led to two useful and important
" ends; the first, to fix the spirit of legislation,
" that in future it might not wander from its
" proper course; the second, to direct the repre-
" sentatives of the people in forming those laws,
" which it was impossible to promulgate at the
" instant, and which could only be the effect of
" long time and mature reflection."

" It has been represented," they added, " that
" this declaration is useless, because it is already
" impressed in all hearts; and that it is danger-
" ous, because the people themselves may abuse
" their rights: But though impressed on all
" hearts, it is not less necessary to renew the
" traces which may be weakened by time; and
" experience has already taught us, that a nation
" can easily forget its advantages; and that it
" frequently wants perseverance to maintain its
" rights. If this declaration had existed, the a-
" bettors of slavery had never presumed to pub-
" lish those dangerous maxims which have over-
" shadowed the true principles of freedom; and

“ as to the dread that the people themselves
“ should abuse those rights in which they were
“ instructed, every example of History stands
“ forth in opposition to these imaginary fears.
“ You every where behold the people tranquil
“ and happy in proportion to their knowledge,
“ whilst it is ignorance alone that agitates the
“ minds and excites the troubled spirits of man-
“ kind.”

Whatever deficiencies the arguments of these gentlemen might be liable to, were amply supplied by the popular opinion. The majority within doors acquiesced in the sentiments of those without; and it was decided, that there should be a Declaration of the Rights of Man, and that that declaration should be distinct from and precede the constitution.

From long metaphysical enquiries, which had been accompanied by tedious debates and tardy decisions, the national assembly rapidly passed to decrees the most interesting in their nature, and important in their consequences. The feudal system, that ancient oak whose extensive shade had darkened the surface of the empire, whose roots, for ages, had drained the moisture of, and whose branches had intercepted the sun from, the soil of France, was now doomed to feel the axe, and to
fall

fall prostrate, in one night, beneath the repeated strokes of the public enthusiasm.

The melancholy disorders which afflicted the provinces, and which equally menaced the public revenue with private property and personal security, awakened the assembly from their dream of tranquillity, and in an instant impressed their minds with the urgent necessity of proceeding to form that constitution, which was become scarce less necessary to the grandeur and existence of France, than requisite to preserve the lives and fortunes of her citizens. The committee of reports had presented a lively and affecting picture of the national calamities; and it was proposed, as a remedy for the evils which daily multiplied, to publish a solemn declaration, in which all conditions of men were commanded, under the penalty of severest punishment, not only to contribute their proportions to the burden of the state, but to with-hold on no pretence whatsoever those dues to which the original land-holders were entitled.

This proposal was encountered by a vigorous resistance; the one party represented that the feudal laws were too oppressive, the taxes too partially imposed, and the public distress too general, to hope any happy effects from such a declaration; that it would fall soon into oblivion; that
instead

Instead of diminishing it would increase the evil, as it would betray the weakness of the national assembly; at the same time that it would irritate the minds of the people, which at present required to be soothed; and that it necessarily must become an object of derision, to demand the payment of taxes, the inequality and injustice of which every person was sensible of.

On the other hand, the assembly were reminded of the sacred rights of property; the immense deficiency with which the public revenue was threatened; and the contempt into which they would fall, if they had not recourse to instant and vigorous measures; that a gloomy silence pervaded the courts of justice; that their authority could only be restored by regulations the most decisive; and that the means for enforcing might immediately follow the declaration itself.

In consequence of these arguments, it was agreed, that a committee should be entrusted to draw up a plan for the preservation of the rights of the proprietors; and that plan on the fourth of August, was presented to the inspection, and for the approbation of the national assembly.

It stated, " That the national assembly taking
" into consideration, whilst it had been solely
" occupied in erecting the happiness of the na-
" tion on the basis of a free constitution, that
" the

“ the disorders and violences which had afflicted
“ the different provinces, had spread the most
“ boding alarms throughout the minds of the
“ people, and had fundamentally struck at the
“ sacred rights of property, and at personal safety;
“ and conscious that these disorders could
“ not but retard the labours of that assembly,
“ and encourage the criminal designs of the
“ enemies of the public welfare :

It now declared, “ That the ancient laws subsisted,
“ and were to be carried into execution,
“ to that moment when the nation might think
“ proper to modify or abolish them ; that the
“ taxes also, such as they were at present, were
“ punctually to be paid, according to the arrest
“ of the national assembly of the 17th of June
“ last, till other imposts could be devised, and
“ new modes of collection less grievous to the
“ people.

“ That all customary rents and services were
“ to be discharged as formerly ; and that all established laws,
“ for the security of persons or their property,
“ were to be universally respected.

“ That the present declaration was to be dispersed
“ throughout the provinces ; and all vicars
“ and curates were required to read it in their
“ respective churches to their parishioners, and
“ to exhort them to observe and obey it.”

It

It was this declaration that called up the Vi-comte de Noailles, who, descended from a family long celebrated for its attachment and services to the crown, had in the late opposition espoused the popular party, and displayed a zeal in restraining the royal influence, at least equal to that which his ancestors had manifested in extending it.

“The end,” said he, “to which this declaration tends, is to allay that fermentation that reigns throughout the provinces; to assure the freedom of the subject, and to confirm the *true right* of the proprietor. But how is it possible for us to attain this object, without clearly ascertaining the source of insurrection, and understanding the nature of the disease, to which we would apply a remedy?”

“The commons have proclaimed their demands to this assembly in too audible a voice not to have been clearly understood: It is not a new constitution which they require; but it is the abolition of the excise; the suppression of vexatious inferior officers; and the mitigation, or extinction, of seignorial rights, which they expect from your justice.

“For three months the commons have beheld their representatives exclusively occupied in what they themselves have called, and what truly are, the affairs of the public; but to the commons, the affairs of the public appear only
VOL. III. F f “those

“ those objects which they desire, and most ardently wish to obtain.

“ After all the different opinions which have existed among the representatives of the nation, the provinces have cast their eyes only on two descriptions of people; the one who have armed in their support, and who have endeavoured to promote their happiness; the other, those of rank and distinction, who have exerted themselves to oppose it. In these circumstances they conceived it a duty to repel force by force; and indulged in liberty, they will no longer bear the rein. There remains but one method to restore tranquillity, and to reconcile them to civil government; it is by giving them solid proofs, that we only resist their desires when they might prove dangerous to their own prosperity.

“ To restore therefore that confidence which they once reposed in this assembly, and to re-establish that tranquillity which every true Frenchman pants after, I propose first, That in the preamble to the declaration intended, it shall be expressed, that the public taxes shall be paid by every individual of the kingdom in proportion to his revenue; secondly, that the burden of the state shall in future be equally distributed among all; thirdly, that the feudal rights should be redeemed at a certain price; and, fourthly, that those seignorial claims which fall under the description of personal servitude,
“ shall

" shall be abolished without any compensation
" whatsoever."

The general revolution throughout the kingdom was scarce less extraordinary than that which had taken place in the sentiments of different families. The late Duke d'Aiguillon had been prosecuted by the just resentment of the parliament of Brittany; he had been pursued by the active hatred of his fellow-citizens; and, loaded with the general execration, had scarce found an asylum from destruction in the protecting favour of the late king. The successor to his dignity now stood forward as the candidate for popular approbation; he not only seconded the motions of the Viscount Noailles, but even passed the boundaries that had been traced by that nobleman. The voice of several of the principal clergy was joined to that of the nobility; and a popular assembly was not tardy in receiving concessions, which were so advantageous to a majority of their own members, and which were proposed by those who would suffer most on their being adopted.

Among the sacrifices of that day, the rights of the chase were not regarded as the least important; and perhaps they were surrendered with the greatest regret. In times of peace, the amusements of the field had been considered as no indifferent representation of the more noble toils of war; they enured the mind to danger, and the body to fatigue; and had been immemorially pre-

served from the multitude as a distinction the most noble and sacred : But as they were possibly the most prized by the nobility, so they were considered by the commons as the most obnoxious of the feudal rights. The severity with which several lords had maintained their pretensions, and the unremitting rigour with which they had pursued their unhappy vassals, who had presumed to trespass upon their game, had kindled against this peculiar privilege a degree of odium, which was only to be extinguished by its total abolition.

With the abolition of the rights of the chace, the most important regulations were, the equalization of the public burdens; the suppression of feudal servitude; the redemption of manerial rights, under the titles of bannerites, &c. and the destruction of warrens and dove-cotes. To these succeeded the repeal of several taxes that were considered as most oppressive; a dereliction, on the side of the clergy, of those rights which they possessed with their territorial property; and a resolution to enquire into the pensions and gratifications of the court, which were to be resumed where they had been unworthily, and diminished where they had been lavishly, bestowed.

To commemorate a day which had given birth to so many, and to such important reforms, the duke of Liancourt proposed, that a medal should be struck with the following inscription, to *the abolition of all privileges, and the perfect re-union*

of

of all the provinces; and monsieur Lally-Tollendal having observed, that it was in the assembly of the states-general, that Lewis the Twelfth had been named *the Father of the People*, moved, that Lewis the Sixteenth should be styled, *Restorer of the Liberties of France*. The moment of enthusiasm was not yet passed, and every motion which flattered the conduct of the deputies themselves, and impressed on the people the advantages they had gained, by the diminution of the royal power, was readily received, and instantly adopted.

The late decrees of the national assembly had been received by the inhabitants of Versailles and Paris with the loudest and most heart-felt acclamations; and from the walls of the capital the patriotic ardour soon diffused itself throughout the distant provinces. Dauphiné, in whose bosom the seeds of liberty had long been fostered; and who claimed the merit of first calling them into life, now set an example again to the rest of France, by her instant compliance with the views of the national assembly. Her deputies were followed by those of Brittany, Provence, Burgundy, and Languedoc: The cities of Lyons, Marseilles, Bourdeaux and Strasbourg were equally emulous to display their zeal and concurrence; and all approaching the bar of the assembly, surrendered, in the most unreserved terms, those exclusive

privileges which they formerly had defended with the most unshaken courage against the pretensions of the crown.

Even the breasts of individuals were not proof to the general ardour; several of the nobility on this occasion vied with the disinterested professions of the provinces and the cities, and offered, as a sacrifice on the altar of Liberty, those privileges which the late declaration had left them; declaring, that they considered the title of *a Citizen of France*, as the most honourable dignity they could possess.

The sanctity of religion was called in, to add solemnity to the scene, and to consecrate the hour of liberty: The archbishop of Paris, whose extensive liberality and goodness of heart had long entitled him to that pre-eminence of dignity which he enjoyed, but who in the first stage of the revolution had nearly fallen a victim to the blind fury of the multitude, presided on this awful occasion; and by his presence, served in some measure to diminish that prejudice which hitherto had prevailed amongst the populace against the clergy, and to restore his order to that confidence which their manly resignation and disinterested conduct merited.

Chapter

Chapter the Fiftieth.

SITUATION OF THE KING—DESERPTION OF THE FRENCH AND SWISS GUARDS—APPOINTMENT OF NEW MINISTERS—DISTRESS OF THE CAPITAL—DISORDERS AT LOUVIER AND PROVINS—REPEATED INSURRECTIONS OF THE PEOPLE—ARRET OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY FOR RESTORING THE PUBLIC TRANQUILLITY—REPRESENTATION OF MONSIEUR NECKER ON THE FINANCES—CONDITIONS OF THE LOAN CHANGED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY—DIFFICULTIES THAT EN-SUE—DEBATES ON AND ABOLITION OF TYTHES—PATRIOTIC CONTRIBUTIONS—DEBATES ON THE *ROYAL VETO*—CONDUCT OF MONSIEUR NECKER—RESOLUTIONS OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, ON THE CONSTITUTION—RESIGNATIONS OF COMTE LALLY-TOLLENDAL, AND MESSIEURS MOUNIER AND BERGASSE—DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

WHILE the bold and decisive measures of the national assembly excited or commanded general attention, the voice of the sovereign was feebly and rarely heard; The little influence that had been left him daily diminished; his grandeur was over-shadowed; his authority was eclipsed; his French and Swiss guards had abandoned all duty; and retiring from their posts at Versailles, had marched with their arms and colours to join their companions, who had al-

F f 4

ready

ready ranged themselves on the popular side : Each hour was marked with some new deference ; whilst by nature incapable of energy or enterprise, Lewis himself seemed the only calm spectator of a tempest which shook his kingdom to the very foundations ; nor was to be roused to action by the animated remonstrances or undaunted spirit of his magnanimous consort,

The national assembly, on every occasion, had hitherto been lavish in their professions of respect and loyalty ; and on these professions the royal hope seemed wholly to rest. To improve the confidence between himself and the legislative body, the king dismissed his former ministers, and bestowed the seals on the archbishop of Bordeaux ; entrusted to the archbishop of Vienne, the disposal of ecclesiastical promotions ; appointed to the department of war, monsieur de la Tour du Pin ; and called to his council the marechal de Beauveau ; all gentlemen who had been nominated as deputies to the national assembly, and some of them eminently distinguished for their patriotic zeal and eloquence.

It was the king's intention to have conferred the dignity of prime minister on monsieur Neck-er ; but that statesman thought proper to decline the invidious distinction ; requesting that his influence might not be accompanied by any public mark or title ; and that monsieur Lambert, who had

had formerly occupied the post of comptroller general, might be associated in that situation to his labours in the finances.

The count de Montmorin was replaced as minister for foreign affairs; to monsieur de St. Priest was allotted the home department; and the count de la Luzerne was placed at the head of the marine; at the same time the king declared his intention, in all promotions in the army or navy, the royal household or magistracy, to be in future guided by the majority of his council.

The late decrees of the national assembly had been presented to his majesty by the duke de Liancourt; and the approbation of the sovereign, after so many compliances, seemed little more than a matter of form: It was, however, expressed in the most gracious manner; and the king added, that he perfectly relied on the wisdom, judgment, and virtues of the national assembly.

But the satisfaction of that assembly was far from pure and undiminished: The failure of the preceding harvest was still severely felt throughout the capital; and the discontent of the inhabitants was not confined to empty murmurs. The means that had been employed under the ancient constitution, to subsist that immense city, were adapted to a vigorous but despotic government, and could no longer be preserved in a revolution which had delivered commerce from every restraint: The interest of those who had
corn

corn to dispose of, would naturally indeed point out to them where the consumption was greatest, and where the sale would be most rapid and advantageous; but in the first moments of inquietude and confusion, all intercourse with the provinces had been intercepted; and it was deemed necessary to provide convoys for the defence of the daily provisions that entered the capital.

Yet the terrors of famine, and the contempt of authority, which rapidly diffused itself through the lower class of the people, could not fail of producing consequences the most disagreeable. The militia of Louvier attacked a convoy of corn which was ascending the Seine, under the escort of the militia of Elbœuf; the boats were seized; the corn was conveyed to Louvier; and the citizen who commanded the detachment from Elbœuf, was thrown into a dungeon, and conceived himself fortunate in eluding with life the seditious fury of the multitude.

Circumstances nearly similar, produced at Provins similar consequences. Two electors of Paris had been commissioned by the committee of subsistence, to purchase in that town a quantity of corn, where the grain in the magazines was well known to exceed the wants of the inhabitants; but the people, apprehensive of being involved in the distress of their neighbours, were no sooner informed of the object of the electors, than they made themselves masters of their persons; they
persisted

persisted in refusing their liberty to the reiterated demands of the Hotel de Ville; and to procure their release, the marquis de la Fayette was obliged to order a detachment of eight hundred men, with cannon, to march to Provins.

To assuage the troubled minds of the people, the influence and authority of the national assembly were again interposed; and an arret was published, in which it was declared the duty of all the municipalities, and of the militia, to restrain by force those acts of violence which dishonoured the kingdom, and annihilated personal security: At the same time, the regular troops were called upon to assist wherever it was necessary, and to contribute their efforts to re-establish the safety of the citizen, the liberty of commerce, and the public tranquillity.

Even the celebrated abolition of the feudal system was followed by events far different from those which the Vicomte de Noailles had fondly predicted. The peasants, brutal and ignorant, conceived themselves now released from every restraint, and plunged into the most melancholly excesses; the seats of the nobility were once more devoted to the flames; the tribunals of justice were despised and insulted; and even the harvest, the future hopes of the nation, was threatened by the blind fury of the inconsiderate insurgents.

Nor did the internal state of the finances present

sent an object of less serious and painful deliberation. In the picture that was subjected to the eyes of the national assembly by monsieur Necker, that statesman asserted, That on re-entering the administration he had found in the royal treasury, in specie or bills of the Caisse d'Escompte, only four hundred thousand livres; that the deficit between the revenue and the expenditure was immense, and that public credit was extinguished: That he had thought it his duty to conduct affairs without any extraordinary or violent effort, to that period when order might be introduced by the regulations of the national assembly; but that moment so desirable, was, he now perceived, at a greater distance than he had originally expected. In the mean time, extraordinary expences, and unexpected deficiencies in the revenue, daily augmented the disorders of the finances; the quantities of grain that the king had been obliged to purchase for the subsistence of his subjects; the works he had thought it prudent to engage in, in the neighbourhood of Paris, to give bread to twelve thousand labourers, at ten pence a day, were combined with the defalcation of the duties on salt and tobacco; which were fallen to one-half of their original value by the audacity of the smugglers, who, confident in their numbers, publicly carried on their illegal commerce; that the customs had suffered in proportion to the excise; that several
barriers

barriers were destroyed, the houses of the collectors pillaged, and the public registers burnt; that the twentieth, the poll, and the capitation taxes, were either delayed or absolutely refused.

After this melancholy exposition, the minister demanded, in the name of the king, that the public assembly should sanction a loan of thirty millions, to satisfy the inevitable engagements and expences for the two following months, during which interval he doubted not that the constitution would either be established, or at least considerably advanced.

“ I conceive,” said he, “ that it will not on
“ this occasion be requisite to allure the public
“ confidence by the offer of exorbitant interest. I propose that this loan shall be negotiated at the simple interest of five per cent,
“ and each subscriber to be reimbursed, if he
“ desires it, in the next session of the national
“ assembly: That this reimbursement is to stand
“ the foremost amidst those arrangements
“ which are to be made for the establishment of
“ a sinking fund: That the loan should be either in notes payable to the bearer, or in contracts, as the subscribers should deem most
“ convenient; and that a list should be formed
“ of the subscribers to this patriotic loan; and that
“ this list should be communicated to the national assembly, and preserved, if they think
“ proper, on their journals.”

“ You

“ You will not, gentlemen,” continued he, addressing himself to the national assembly, “ refuse your sanction to this loan. Numerous districts have, doubtless, demanded that a constitution should be established, before any tax or loan should take place ; but who could have foreseen those difficulties which have retarded your labours ? It is to you that the safety of the state is confided ; it is to you that the people look up for their future happiness ; you alone have the means to avert the tempest that impends over us. For my own part, I have fulfilled my task ; I have deposited in your hands the knowledge of affairs ; and whatever method you may adopt, my duty will always bind me to respect your opinions, and to give you, to the last moments of my life, proofs of my zeal and attachment.”

“ Yet,” concluded he, “ notwithstanding the evil that menaces, the kingdom is entire ; and the diffusion of knowledge may fertilize the seeds of prosperity. Let, therefore, no one of this assembly, nor of the nation itself, resign himself to despair ; the eyes of the king are now opened to the true interests of the kingdom ; his subjects have preserved a regard for his person, which the return of tranquillity will increase and fortify : Let us rather, gentlemen, deliver ourselves to the happy prospect which hope presents. Hereafter, perhaps,

“ in

“ in the full enjoyment of a liberty tempered
“ by discretion, and a confidence unclouded by
“ distrust, France will efface the remembrance
“ of these times of calamity; and possessed of
“ benefits which she will owe to your gene-
“ rous efforts, will still retain her gratitude to
“ that monarch whom you have acknowledged
“ the sovereign of your affections.

However the national assembly might respect the integrity, or be impressed by the eloquence of monsieur Necker, they were far from delivering themselves to a blind confidence; even in the first moments some symptoms of jealousy appeared; and the proposal of monsieur de Clermont-Lodève, that they should deliberate in the presence of the royal ministers, was rejected as insidious, and incompatible with the freedom of debate. To ascertain the necessity of the loan itself, it was thought proper to submit it to the consideration of the committee of finance; and even when that committee had confirmed the urgent necessities of the state, the means of relieving them remained still an object of discussion.

The assembly, on one side, limited by the instructions of their constituents, that they should not consent to any loan until the constitution was formed, and, on the other, pressed by the public exigency, wished to preserve their respect to the first, at the same time that they should

not

not refuse their assistance to the last. There was not a deputy who regarded not the succours demanded by the minister as indispensable; they were convinced the loan was of that nature that could neither strengthen the hands of the executive power, nor augment in any considerable degree the burdens of the people; the sum in itself was small, and the conditions proposed far from unreasonable: Yet they dreaded the popular clamour, and those suspicions which might attend their deviation from that path, which had been traced for their footsteps.

At length they determined to steer, what they deemed a middle and prudent course; they consented to the loan, but they changed the conditions on which it was to have been negotiated. Confiding in that general enthusiasm which they themselves were sensible of, they decreed that no security should be given to the subscribers; that no term should be named for the reimbursement; and that the interest should be fixed at only four and a half per cent.

These regulations were at first received with applause by the public; but they were soon taught by experience, that the flame of patriotism burns not in the cold and interested bosoms of agents and brokers, and that numerous offspring of the funds, who owe their existence to the national distress: These regarded in silence proposals that promised so scanty an harvest,
and

and determined to wait till the public necessities should extort terms more advantageous. Twenty days after the loan of thirty millions had been decreed, two millions six hundred thousand livres only had been subscribed. The delay augmented the confusion of the finances and the public wants : Forty millions of livres now became necessary ; and to procure these, it was deemed expedient to vote a loan of eighty millions, at five per cent. and to be redeemed in ten years.

Each step rendered more perplexed the labyrinth in which the national assembly had involved itself. Unaccustomed to money speculations, their first error had arisen from too lively a confidence in the patriotism of the nation ; their second measure withdrew the veil, presented to every eye the public misery ; and by the profit they now readily agreed to, and the magnitude of the loan they had opened, they increased the general distrust, and fatally blasted their own expectations.

The national assembly, so unfortunate in their first effort of finance, now directed their attention to measures which might efface the recollection of their disgrace, and might allure or confirm the attachment of the multitude. The tithes in France, as in general throughout Europe, had been long considered by the cultivator of the land as a heavy and intolerable burden ; the committee to whose consideration this article had been referred, had proposed that all

tythes, ecclesiastical as well as laic, should be rendered redeemable. But this redemption was subject to essential objections: It confounded the impropriate tythes with those of the church; it militated against the intention of the assembly, which was to relieve the farmer, or husbandman; and afforded an endless source of litigation in ascertaining the value at which that redemption was to be fixed.

These objections were ably supported by the lively eloquence of the comte de Mirabeau; while the claims of the church found a warm and strenuous defender in the abbé Sieyes, who had formerly so eminently distinguished himself as the successful champion of the Tiers-Etat. He urged, that as the tythe was not a tax established by the nation, but a rent charge to which the first proprietors had subjected their estates, the nation was by no means competent to abolish it, to the benefit of the present possessors who had purchased their lands under the stipulation of constantly discharging it. The tythe was, therefore, in the hands of the clergy, a legal property; and, as injurious to the public welfare, it could only be abolished by the same means as it was customary to observe in the abolition of other rights; that was to say, by a compensation voluntarily agreed on between those who received and those who paid tythes; or established by the moderation and equity of the national assembly :

assembly: That the sums which might be drawn from such a compensation, might be placed in such a manner as to contribute to the primitive object in the establishment of tythes, and yet, under the present circumstances, to furnish most essential resources to the nation.

To this it was answered, that the tythes could not be converted into a settled income, as they were not immediately derived from the ground itself, but from the produce of it, which was various and uncertain; and as they had not originally been derived from any grant of land, they could not be considered as a real estate, but merely as a gratification, which the nation had appointed to recompense those who instructed the people in religion and morality; and since, by the confession of the clergy themselves, the tythes might be redeemed by individuals or communities, they certainly might be redeemed by the united voice of those individuals or communities, by the nation at large.

While yet the majority of the clergy struggled against a proposal, which, if adopted, they conceived would mortally wound the power of their order, the temporary enthusiasm of a few, rendered in a moment their exertions ineffectual. The debate which had been interrupted by the lateness of the hour was renewed the succeeding day; when monsieur Ricart de Séault read to the assembly, a deed subscribed by fifteen or

twenty curates, who voluntarily surrendered the tythes they enjoyed into the hands of the nation, and confided in its equity to provide for them a proper and decent subsistence. "Gentlemen," added monsieur Séault, amidst the applauses of the assembly, "I deposit this act, with which I have the honour of being entrusted, on your table, to afford an opportunity to all those who are willing to sign it."

Instantly the numerous body of curates, who had been nominated as deputies to the assembly, pressed towards the table, and disputed with each other the honour of first subscribing their names. Their example was followed by the dignified clergy: "In my own name," exclaimed the venerable archbishop of Paris, "and in those of my brethren present, I deposit the tythes of the church in the hands of a nation just and generous: That the gospel should be propagated; that divine worship should be celebrated with dignity and decency, that the churches should be provided with zealous and virtuous pastors, and that the poor should be nourished; these were the ends for which those tythes were allotted us; and we doubt not that the justice of the national assembly will still supply us with means for fulfilling duties so sacred and essential. This," added the cardinal de Rochefoucault, "is the sole prayer of the clergy, who place their whole confidence in the equity of the nation."

The

The national assembly received with transport an offer so consistent with their views, and so superior to their expectations; they were profuse in their encomiums, and in their promises of compensation: But the generality of the clergy throughout the kingdom discovered but little satisfaction at the liberality of their representatives; they accused them of having annihilated, by their rash or timid concurrence, the influence of the ecclesiastical order; and their clamours were increased, when they perceived that the compensation with which they had been allured, was by no means equal to the revenue they had surrendered.

But the resources which the national assembly contemplated from the abolition of tythes, were precarious and distant; the distress of the public was immediate and urgent; the pleasing visions of monsieur Necker had gradually receded from his sight, and the horrors of a national bankruptcy opened to his view; however he might vary the shape in which he addressed it, the enthusiasm of the people was still his only hope; he had now recourse to it in a manner which nothing but the imperious voice of necessity could authorize, and nothing but the most unbounded zeal could render successful,

The idea of relieving a state by voluntary contributions, possesses something so natural and so fascinating to an inexperienced statesman, that it has been frequently resorted to, and almost as fre-

quently been attended by disappointment. But as the present situation of France was unprecedented, so also might be the consequences of this expedient; and the minister having already perceived that his influence among the representatives of the people daily diminished, was willing to ascertain how far he retained his empire over the people themselves.

Throughout the different provincial capitals, offices were opened, and the people were invited to deposit on the altar of the new constitution, their plate, their jewels, and a fourth of their actual revenue. On this occasion, the success, though not sufficient to extinguish the wants of the state, exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the minister; a general ardour seemed to pervade every rank and description throughout the kingdom; the sumptuous side-boards which had ministered to the vanity of the nobility, the ancient and massy vessels which had been so long consecrated to religious services, the very ornaments of the fair-sex, swelled the promiscuous pile, and were cheerfully offered as a sacrifice to freedom: Even those who most dreaded, and in secret were most desirous, of embarrassing the new system of government, endeavoured to elude the suspicions of their countrymen, by the most liberal donations.

But at the same time that the people so largely contributed to alleviate the public distress, their clamours against the influence of the throne assumed

furned a louder and more decisive tone. In the capital especially, the various clubs and popular assemblies boldly erected themselves against the *royal sanction*; while the committee which had been nominated by the national assembly to arrange the form of the new constitution, far from acquiescing with the opinions without doors, represented it as essential to the very existence of the government, that the king on every law should be entrusted with an *absolute veto* or *negative*.

The debates on this occasion were long and vigorous, and the fermentation of the people violent. It was even thought necessary to assure the safety of the capital by numerous guards of militia, and the protection of cannon. Those who supported the royal sanction were loudly menaced with the weight of the public indignation: Yet the dangers that environed them, did not prevent them from discharging their duty, and openly proclaiming their sentiments.

Among those who most eminently distinguished themselves on this occasion were the comtes de Mirabeau, and Lally-Tollendal, and messieurs Mounier and Bergasse: They urged, that no legislative act could be considered as law till sanctioned by the king; that his consent alone could render it binding, and stamp it sacred and inviolable: And since no act could be considered as law till confirmed by his sanction, that sanction ought to be free and voluntary; that if it was not,

it could only be considered as a form, requisite to the consecration, and not as the essence, of the act itself; and, therefore, ought not to be placed in the rank of those qualities which form the very existence of the law.

They asserted that those only who were attached to the two following propositions: The one, that all legislative acts, which ought always to be proposed, debated, and formed in the bosom of the national assembly, require, as established law, to be sanctioned by the approbation of the sovereign; the other, that the monarch being free to consent or dissent, might give or refuse indefinitely his sanction, had conceived a clear and simple idea of those maxims which had been received as the foundation of all monarchies.

These principles were opposed by messieurs Chappelier, Barnave, and Lameth; they represented, that as all powers were to be considered as so many emanations from the people, it was most inconsistent and dangerous to allow to the will of an individual, a controlling authority over the will of the nation at large; that such a proposal could only be the result of a plan deliberately hostile to liberty, and, if adopted, could only be attended by the re-establishment of despotism.

Amidst these various discussions, a new expedient seemed for a moment to unite the discordant opinions of the public; and while the *absolute veto* appeared to yield to the jealousy of the populace,
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a *suspensive veto* was proposed to supply the vacancy it had left. But this also was soon discovered to be liable to innumerable objections; to leave it unlimited, was again to fall into the system of the absolute *veto*, and only to change the name, and not the nature of that invidious prerogative; to suffer it to depend on the judgment of provincial assemblies, or the instructions of the constituent body, was to establish an appeal to the people, far distant from the intentions of the national assembly, and most dangerous in its consequences: To restrain it to any fixed term, was at once to destroy the effect of it; to lose the advantages, and to preserve the inconveniencies with which it was pregnant.

Though monsieur Necker, from the moment that the terms he had recommended for the late loan were rejected, was convinced that his influence in the national assembly daily declined, yet he was persuaded, on this important occasion, to try once more the effect of his sentiments; these were generally known to be favourable to the expedient that had been proposed in the *suspensive veto*; and that they might have more weight, and be more strongly impressed on the minds of the assembly, he delivered them in writing. But the majority of the assembly considered this procedure as an innovation inconsistent with their dignity, and the letter of the minister of the finances was returned unopened.

It

It was on the twenty-third, that the majority of the national assembly, wearied out with the vain hope of uniting the public opinion, proceeded to complete the decrees which were to form the future constitution of France, and to collect them for the general information in the following nineteen important resolutions.

1st. That all power originally was derived from the nation, and could only continue to flow from that source.

2d. That the French government was monarchical; that there was no authority in France superior to the law; that the king reigned only by the law; and that it was only by virtue of the laws that he could claim the obedience of his people.

3d. That the national assembly has acknowledged and declared, as fundamental points of the monarchy, that the person of the sovereign is sacred and inviolable; that the throne is indivisible; that the crown is hereditary in the present royal family, from male to male, in order of primogeniture, to the perpetual and absolute exclusion of the females and their descendants, without deciding on the effect of renunciations.

4th. That the national assembly shall be permanent.

5th. That the national assembly shall be composed of only one chamber.

6th. That the return of the deputies to the national assemblies shall be for two years.

7th. That on the expiration of that term, an entire new re-election shall take place. 8th.

8th. That the legislative power is vested in the national assembly, who shall exercise it as follows:

9th. No act of the legislative body can be considered as law, if it is not framed by the representatives of the nation, freely and legally chosen; and if it is not sanctioned by the monarch.

10th. The king can refuse his assent to any act of the legislative body.

11th. In that case where the king shall interpose his negative, that negative shall be considered only as suspensive.

12th. The negative of the king shall cease to exist on the election of the national assembly, which next follows that in which the law was proposed.

13th. The king may invite the national assembly to deliberate on any subject; but to propose any new laws is the exclusive prerogative of the representatives of the people.

14. The creation or suppression of offices cannot take place, but in consequence of an act of the legislative body, sanctioned by the king.

15th. No tax or contribution in kind, or in money, can be levied; no loan direct or indirect can be negotiated by any other means than by an express decree of the assembly of the representatives of the nation.

16th. The supreme executive power is exclusively vested in the hands of the king.

17th. The executive power can enact no laws, not even provisional; but only is allowed to issue
procla-

proclamations conformable to the law, to recall or enforce obedience to it.

18th. The ministers and the other agents of the executive power, are responsible for the application of the different sums in their departments, as well as for every infringement of the laws, whatever orders they may have received; but no order of the king is to be executed, unless signed by his majesty himself, and counter-signed by the secretary of state, or the minister of the department.

19th. The judicial power can on no occasion whatsoever be exercised by the king, nor by the legislative body; but justice is to be administered in the name of the king by those tribunals established by law, according to the principles of the constitution, and the forms which the law prescribes.

Such were the articles decreed as the future landmarks of the constitution of France; and as these, without expressly naming, completely extinguished the absolute *veto*, which comte Lally-Tollendal and messieurs Mounier and Bergasse had described as indispensably necessary to the existence of the state, those gentlemen declined continuing any longer members of a committee, whose representations were disregarded; and accordingly gave in their dismissal.

The *articles of the constitution* had been preceded by a *declaration of the rights of men and of citizens*, scarce less remarkable for the solemnity with which it

it was introduced, than for the important matter which it contained.

The preamble states, that the representatives of the people of France formed into a national assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the sole causes of public misfortunes, and corruptions of government, have resolved to set forth, in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible, and unalienable rights. That this declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the Body Social, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties; that the acts of the legislative and executive powers of government being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected; and also that the future claims of the citizens being directed by simple and incontestible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the constitution, and the general happiness.

For these reasons, the national assembly doth recognize and declare, *in the presence of the supreme Being*, and with the hope of his blessing and favour, the following sacred rights of men and citizens.

1st. Men were born and always continue free and equal in respect of their rights; civil distinctions therefore can be founded only in public utility.

2dly. The end of all political associations, is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights

rights of men ; and these rights are, liberty, property, security, and resistance of oppression.

3dly. That the nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty ; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority, which is not expressly derived from it.

4thly. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another ; the exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights ; and these limits are determinable only by the law.

5thly. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society : What is not prohibited by the law should not be opposed ; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

6thly. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation : It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes ; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

7thly. No man shall be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute,

cute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished; and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himself culpable by resistance.

8thly. The law ought to impose no other penalties than such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

9thly. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against by the law.

10thly. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by law.

11thly. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious rights of man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty in cases determined by the law.

12thly. A public force being necessary to give security to the rights of men and citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular advantage of the persons to whom it is entrusted.

13thly. A

13thly. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members; of the community, according to their abilities.

14thly. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

15thly. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

16thly. Every community, in which a separation of powers and a security of rights are not provided for, wants a constitution.

17thly. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

The simplicity that reigns throughout this declaration was admirably suited to the purposes for which it was intended. A plain system of government was presented to the view of the most limited capacity; and while each citizen was taught to look up to those rights which are inherent in man, he was instructed to submit without repining to those burdens, and that restraint, which were necessary to the preservation of the state, and to his own protection.

Chapter

Chapter the Fifty-first.

SCARCITY AT PARIS—COMMOTIONS AT VERSAILLES—REGIMENT OF FLANDERS ORDERED TO VERSAILLES—ENTERTAINMENT OF THE GARDES-DU-CORPS—REPORTS AND DISCONTENT OF THE CAPITAL—DEPUTATION OF THE GRENADIERS TO THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE—INSURRECTION OF THE POPULACE—PILLAGE THE HOTEL DE VILLE—MARCH TO VERSAILLES—DISCUSSION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON THE KING'S ANSWER TO THE ARTICLES OF THE CONSTITUTION—INTERRUPTED BY THE ARRIVAL OF THE INSURGENTS—DEPUTATION TO THE KING—HIS MAJESTY'S ANSWER—DISCONTENT OF THE POPULACE—ATTACK ON THE GARDES-DU-CORPS—THEY RETREAT TO RAMBOUILLET—MARCH OF THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE TO VERSAILLES—HIS CONDUCT—THE PALACE OF VERSAILLES IS ATTACKED BY THE POPULACE—MASSACRE OF THE GARDES-DU-CORPS

VOL. III. H h —GAL—

—GALLANTRY OF MONSIEUR MIOMANDRE —
 ESCAPE OF THE QUEEN—THE KING CONSENTS
 TO QUIT VERSAILLES—PROCEEDS TO THE CA-
 PITAL—DESCRIPTION OF HIS JOURNEY—RE-
 TIRES TO THE TUILLIERS—CONDUCT OF THE
 DUKE OF ORLEANS—ACCEPTS OF A COMMIS-
 SION TO ENGLAND—ENQUIRY OF THE CHATE-
 LET—DECISION OF THE NATIONAL ASSEM-
 BLY—RETREAT OF MESSIEURS LALLY-TOL-
 LENDAL AND MOUNIER.

IN the revolution that presents itself, the mind of the reader is scarce cheered by the prospect of tranquillity, before it is again overcast by the gathering storms of civil commotion. The declaration of right, and the articles of the new constitution, might have soothed the angry spirits, and kindled the hopes of France; but her harvest of ideal prosperity was blasted by the chilling breath of famine; neither the exertion of the committee of subsistence, the precautions of the minister of the finances, nor the liberality of the duke of Orleans, who devoted his princely revenue to alleviate the public distress, could prevent the Parisians from being assailed by that scarcity which still afflicted France, and was also felt

felt in some measure by the neighbouring kingdoms.

Even Versailles, the royal residence, was not exempt from its share of misery ; some popular tumults which prevailed in the streets, and which were excited by the extravagant price of bread, served as a pretext for the municipality to demand, and the king to consent, to the regiment of Flanders being summoned to preserve the public tranquillity. This measure, which at first appeared of no importance, was soon productive of consequences the most unexpected and sanguinary.

Though through every stage of the late revolution, the monarch himself had appeared zealous to comply with the wishes of his people, yet it was supposed the high and manly spirit of his consort, was severely wounded by the diminution of the regal authority. Whatever opposition had occurred from the throne was attributed to her counsels, and the influence the comte d'Artois possessed over his royal sister-in-law, with the avowed sentiments of that prince, induced the nation in general to regard the queen with jealousy and suspicion.

These suspicions were increased by the arrival of the regiment of Flanders ; and the capital, ever tremulously alive to danger, beheld with a jaun-

diced eye the vicinity of a body of regular troops, whose presence, it was asserted, could be productive of no real advantage, who might be nourished at a less expence in any of the provinces, and whose consumption of corn would increase that scarcity, from which the inhabitants of Paris already eminently suffered.

Such were the subjects of immediate remonstrance, when a new and more lively cause of complaint and jealousy presented itself. The *gardes-du-corps*, or household troops of the king, had invited to an entertainment the regiment of Flanders. Though it is an ancient custom in the French service to pay this compliment to every regiment that arrives, yet as it had been delayed sometime, prudence at least would have dictated the omission of it at so critical a moment.

The circumstances that attended the entertainment, were far from allaying those fears which had been excited by the arrival of the regiment of Flanders. Besides that corps, the household troops invited several officers of the militia of Versailles, with their commander the celebrated count d'Estaing. Even the common soldiers of the Swiss guards, the *chasseurs* of Trois Evêchés, and the *grenadiers* of Flanders, were admitted into the saloon where the feast was prepared; liquor was plentifully distributed; the health of
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the king, the queen, and the dauphin were drank with the loudest acclamations; but that of the nation was rejected. The royal family themselves appeared on this occasion; the air of "Oh Richard! Oh my king!" from Richard Cœur de Lion, was played by the band; and towards the close of the evening several ladies of the court presented themselves, and distributed white cockades, which were eagerly received, though the regiment of Flanders had previously borne that of the nation.

If in this transaction the court can be acquitted of any regular design, it yet must stand convicted of the highest imprudence. In the new and unsettled state of affairs to countenance these Bacchanalian orgies, was at least an unpardonable indiscretion; the national cockade was considered as the emblem of attachment to the new constitution; yet the soldiers of Flanders were prevailed on to abandon it, and resume that which they had worn under the ancient government; while the female attendants of the queen displayed their zeal, by furnishing these ensigns of open and undisguised disaffection.

The rumour of these occurrences rapidly spread from Versailles to Paris; it had been preceded by a report that it was the intention of the king to quit his palace, and accompanied by the queen,

whose reproaches, it was supposed, had aroused him to this decisive measure, to escape to Metz ; there to assemble what forces he could depend upon ; and erect once more the standard of despotism. The recall of regular troops to the neighbourhood of the capital gave weight to this report ; and the Parisians had no small reason to apprehend that from the moment of the king's retreat, the scanty supplies of grain, which furnished at present but a bare subsistence to the capital, would be entirely intercepted.

These discontents were not long confined to secret and ineffectual murmurs ; on the intelligence of the mysterious entertainment at Versailles, the clamours of the populace assumed a louder and more menacing tone. The militia of Paris, and the ancient French guards, joined in the general indignation. On the fourth of October, the marquis de la Fayette, who was then at the committee of police, was addressed by six grenadiers, who informed him that they were deputies from the six grenadier companies ; that though they entertained no doubt of his integrity, they believed he himself to be betrayed by the government ; that it was time an end should be put to the public distress ; that they could not turn their arms against women who demanded bread ; that the committee of subsistence deceived them,
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and ought to be abolished. That they were determined to go to Versailles, and exterminate the gardes-du-corps and the regiment of Flanders, who had trampled under foot the national cockade. That if the king of France was too feeble to bear the weight of the crown, they would depose him, and that they would crown his son; and then all would go well.

Language so alarming, it might have been naturally expected would have induced the marquis de la Fayette, as colonel general of the militia, to have adopted every possible precaution; but whatever were his motives, that nobleman contented himself with simply haranguing the grenadiers, and recommending patience and forbearance.

His eloquence on this occasion was not attended with the effects that he might have fondly imagined. The progress of discontent was rapid and frightful. Some hundreds of the most licentious and daring of the rabble, chiefly women, collected from the markets and public halls, armed with staves, pikes, and every weapon that their blind fury could supply, poured from their dark and secret lurking places. They surrounded the Hotel de Ville with fearful cries, forced open the doors, and possessed themselves of the arms. Their numbers were soon swelled to se-

veral thousands, by successive and motley groups of both sexes, furnished with fusils and pistols, swords and poignards, lances and hatchets, and dragging two pieces of cannon. To this desperate and tumultuous host the marquis de Saint Huruge, a nobleman of ancient family in Burgundy, but of sullied reputation, and doubtful intellects, joined himself.

These lawless insurgents, animated by a survey of their strength, and the seditious harangues of their new leader, at length took the road to Versailles. On their route they compelled the different passengers whom they met, and especially the women, to mingle in their train. Terror and dismay preceded their van; the villages through which they passed were deserted; the shops and houses were shut on their approach; and the inhabitants who remained in any town were happy to redeem themselves from pillage by a liberal distribution of bread and wine.

Intoxicated with rage and liquor, the frantic crowd about half after three o'clock precipitated themselves on Versailles. The king that morning had sat out for Meudon, and was engaged in the amusements of the chace, when he was first informed of the march of the insurgents; he instantly returned to the castle, and arrived a quarter of an hour before the appearance of the hostile rabble; yet far
from

from regarding their dispositions as really dangerous; to the prince of Luxembourg, the captain of his guards, and who enquired if his majesty had any orders to give; he replied, with a smile, "what for women? you surely jest."

The national assembly was engaged in discussing the answer of the king to the articles of the constitution. His majesty had acceded to them, on the condition that the executive power should remain whole and undiminished in his hands. But this reservation was far from meeting the general approbation. It was observed, that though the king had acceded to them, that he had not accepted them; it was proposed, that he should swear to observe them in the presence of the assembly; and amidst this diversity of opinion, the fatal entertainment of the first of October, the source of so many suspicions, and sinister events, was introduced into debate.

While yet the minds of the deputies were agitated by this relation, and the various motions that attended it, monsieur Mounier, the president, communicated the alarming intelligence that he had just received; that an armed concourse of thirty or forty thousand people were on their march from Paris. On this news the assembly resolved that the president should wait upon the king to obtain a pure and simple acceptance of the
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the articles of the constitution ; and were already prepared to break up, when they were interrupted by the unwelcome and formidable presence of the insurgents.

These presented themselves with loud cries and imprecations at the doors of the assembly, and threatened to force the guards that defended them. To avoid this dangerous extremity, it was decreed by a majority of voices to permit them to enter ; they immediately pressed forwards in great numbers, and the benches were instantly occupied by a crowd of women, disstained with dust and sweat, deaf to reason, inflamed with liquor, and insatiate of blood.

Two men, who assumed the tone of authority, appeared at their head. The first addressed the assembly, and informed them that they were come from Versailles for bread and money ; and at the same time to punish the gardes-du-corps, who had insulted the patriotic cockade. That like good patriots they had on their route taken away by force all the white and black cockades that they had met with ; and, drawing one out of his pocket, he concluded with observing, “ that he “ would have the pleasure of tearing it to pieces “ in the presence of that assembly.” His associate added, that they would compel every one to wear the national cockade. A murmur of discontent

discontent at this expression spread itself through the assembly ; which only produced from the undaunted and lawless orator the exclamation of “ *what ! are we not all brethren ?* ” while the president, sensible of the danger which impended over him, condescended to answer in terms of the mildest expostulation.

This singular dialogue was interrupted by the tumultuous cries of the women, who demanded with menacing gestures, bread for themselves, and for Paris. In vain did monsieur Mounier represent the constant attention of the assembly to their distress ; in vain did he hold up the flattering prospect of future relief, and intreat them to retire in peace ; his promises and solicitations were equally disregarded ; and the national assembly, dismayed by the imperious voice of the insurgents, sought only to avert destruction by the most degrading compliances.

The majority confirmed again the decree respecting the articles of the constitution ; they appointed once more the president, accompanied by a deputation, to return to the king to obtain not only his acceptance of those articles, but also his assistance in relieving Paris, and allaying that scarcity which threatened the most fatal consequences : but at the moment that monsieur Mounier rose to depart, the women who surrounded him

him proclaimed their intention of accompanying him to the king; and it was with the greatest difficulty that he could prevail on them to limit their demand to fix of their number.

The picture which this motly deputation presented, and the embarrassments which attended it, cannot be better described than from the pen of the president himself; “we were,” says he, “on foot, exposed to the mud and a heavy rain. A crowd of the inhabitants of Versailles lined on each side the avenue that conducted to the castle; the women from Paris were formed into different groupés, mingled with a certain number of men, for the most part covered with rags, their countenances fierce, their gestures menacing, and raising the most fearful howlings. They were armed with fusils, and old pikes, with hatchets, with staves guarded with iron, long poles, having at the end the blades of swords or knives. Small detachments of the gardes-du-corps formed the patroles; and passed on full gallop, amidst the cries and hisses of the populace.

“We advanced,” continues monsieur Mounier; “and another party of men armed also with pikes, and hatchets, and staves, approached to escort the deputation. The strange and numerous train by which the deputies

“ puties were followed, was mistaken for a crowd
 “ of the insurgents. The gardes-du-corps charg-
 “ ed across us. We were dispersed in the mud ;
 “ we however rallied again, and proceeded to-
 “ wards the castle. We there found the gardes-
 “ du-corps, a detachment of dragoons, the regi-
 “ ment of Flanders, the Swiss guards, the inva-
 “ lids, and the militia of Versailles, ranged in
 “ order of battle. We made ourselves known,
 “ and were received with respect ; we traversed
 “ the lines ; and it was with difficulty that we
 “ could prevent the crowd that had followed us
 “ from entering with us ; but in the place of six
 “ women, to whom I had promised admittance
 “ into the castle, I was obliged to introduce
 “ twelve.”

It was half past five, and a day the most wet and
 dreary, had given place to night the most dark
 and inauspicious ; when the president of the na-
 tional assembly, escorted by fifteen deputies, and
 twelve women of the dregs of Paris, entered into
 the royal presence, and painted to his majesty the
 distress of his capital. The king answered in the
 language of sensibility, and with every assurance
 of prompt and effectual succour. Satisfied on
 this subject, monsieur Mounier still solicited that
 some hour might be appointed to understand his
 majesty's definitive answer to the articles of the
 constitution,

constitution, and the rights of men and citizens: The king named nine; and retired to his cabinet to consult with his ministers on the difficulties which presented themselves. It was not till ten that this important deliberation was brought to a conclusion; monsieur Mounier, who had still remained in waiting, was then called in, and received from the hands of his sovereign his acceptance *pure and simple*.

But the triumph of the president was of short duration; the multitude, whose fury had been excited by the stings of hunger, felt themselves but little interested in the prospect of future freedom, and future laws, while the distress of the present moment threatened inevitable destruction. Famine still appeared before their eyes in its most hideous form. And when monsieur Mounier entered exulting into the saloon of the assembly, and announced the acceptance of the king *pure and simple*, he was interrupted by the cries of the populace; "is it advantageous to us? will it procure us bread?" He was mournfully obliged to confess that the power of the king extended not to this, and that it was from time only they could expect an effectual remedy to their distress.

Even the female deputies who had accompanied monsieur Mounier, had reason to regret
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the unexpected honour which the voice of their comrades had conferred upon them ; they had returned with the president, and had announced the auspicious promises of the sovereign ; but these were far from satisfying their impatient companions ; they threatened them with punishment ; they accused them of having been corrupted ; and compelled them to return to the castle, and to demand from the king that he would subscribe his promise. Monsieur de St. Priest, minister of the home department, succeeded in calming for a moment their angry spirits. He condescended to explain to them the different measures that the king and the ministers had adopted for the subsistence of the capital ; and he delivered to them a paper signed by his majesty, in which he engaged for the most speedy and effectual succours.*

While monsieur Mounier and the deputation awaited in the royal apartment the answer of the king, the court of Versailles displayed a scene of confusion and horror. The furious multitude that had accompanied the president to the castle, had returned and repossessed themselves of the saloon of the national assembly. The deputies beheld themselves surrounded by a mixture of men and women, whose savage countenances proclaimed their fell and sanguinary dispositions ;
throughout

throughout the hall a thousand confused voices demanded the suppression of the *gardes-du-corps*; the dismissal of the regiment of Flanders; and the abolition of the parliaments. But these objects of popular hatred were lost in the more general and importunate clamours for an abatement in the price of candles, of bread, and of meat.

Daring and licentious as the multitude appeared, it was still hoped that they would have desisted from the last extremities, and not ventured to have stained the residence of their sovereign with civil blood. But each compliance, instead of extinguishing, seemed only to have added fuel to their fury. From the national assembly, they had directed their disorderly steps again to the castle. This was still in appearance protected by the *gardes-du-corps*, the regiment of Flanders, and the militia of Versailles. But the latter, who had suffered equally with the Parisians from the general scarcity, were soon seduced to join the party of the multitude; nor was it long before the defection gained the regiment of Flanders; and the *gardes-du-corps* beheld themselves alone, and without resource exposed to the headlong torrent.

It was about seven o'clock in the evening when the inhabitants of Versailles were startled at first by a scattering, and afterwards by a heavy but irregular

irregular discharge of musquetry. The objects of this fire were the *gârdes-du-corps*; the marquis de Savonnieres, an officer in those troops, had, by the imprudent pursuit of one of the militia of Versailles, drawn upon them the hostile fury of the multitude; his temerity was severely punished; his arm was broken in two places, and he fell in the midst of his squadron who, faithful to the orders of their sovereign, still preserved their ranks, and restrained their resentment. Whatever imprudence might be ascribed to them in the entertainment of the first of October, was effaced by their present conduct; but their moderation was ill rewarded by their assailants, who, emboldened by their inactivity, continued to harass them on every side.

The king was yet engaged in council on the declaration of right, and the articles of the constitution, when he was apprised of the danger which impended over his guards, and anxious for their safety, commanded them to retire to their hotel. This retreat was not effected without considerable hazard; and some men, with several horses, were severely wounded. They had not long gained the shelter of their hotel, when Louis, always irresolute and indecisive, alarmed by the various reports which each minute grew more formidable, summoned to his defence once more his household troops. They

obeyed with alacrity, though not without experiencing the same risk and opposition as before. They ranged themselves in order of battle before the castle; and though some were the victims of the repeated attacks of the multitude, they still displayed the same steady but passive courage. At length the monarch, sensible that in that position their destruction would be inevitable without contributing to his security, gave orders for them to retire to Rambouillet under the command of the duke of Guiche; and only retained those few whose duty it was to guard as sentinels the royal apartments.

From the horrors which profaned Versailles, the attention of the reader is recalled to the capital. Paris had indeed vomited forth her needy and rapacious thousands, impatient of restraint, and greedy of plunder. But she was too deeply interested in the fate of her monarch to rejoice at their absence; and the loud and sanguinary menaces which they had breathed, too plainly proclaimed the excesses which they were capable of. Soon after their tumultuous departure the militia of Paris began to assemble in the streets; yet scarce sensible of their own intentions, they awaited the commanding voice of their leader, and every eye was anxiously fixed on the marquis de la Fayette.

That nobleman, by the free choice of his fellow

low citizens and the sanction of his sovereign, had attained the dignity and authority of colonel-general of the militia of Paris. From the reputation he had hitherto enjoyed, vigilance and activity were at least to be expected; and from the military power vested in his hands, and from the confidence which had been fondly attached to his conduct, he alone was capable of restraining the blind fury of the populace. Yet whether from contempt or design, he seemed to persevere in supine indifference; we have already beheld with what inattention he received the address of the grenadiers; and though their disposition promised consequences the most fatal, yet no precautions were taken, no orders given, no posts occupied; it appeared as if the marquis was willing to enhance the merit of his services, and to suffer Versailles to be reduced to the last extremity before he appeared to its relief.

At length when the marquis beheld several thousands of the militia assembled, and was convinced that the force, which required him as a leader, was sufficient to look into submission, either the disorderly host of insurgents, or the scanty band of regular troops, he presented himself at the Hotel de Ville, and demanded permission of the commons to march to Versailles; this was immediately granted; and at four in the evening, about five hours after the factious po-

pulace had quitted the capital, the marquis de la Fayette, at the head of eighteen thousand men, pointed his tardy steps towards Versailles.

It was ten at night before an aid-de-camp of the marquis announced to the king and the national assembly the approach of the Parisian army. Their commander still more desirous of preserving forms, than of rapidly advancing to protect the wretched inhabitants, halted his army at a small distance from the town, and administered to his soldiers the oath to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and the king. Fortified by this proof of allegiance, he next presented himself to the national assembly, and assured the president both of his own pacific intentions and of those of his followers.

From the national assembly the marquis passed to the royal presence; where he held the same language, and so fully possessed his majesty of his security, that the king declined the presence of the national representatives, and contented himself with declaring that it was his intention never to separate himself from the seat of their councils.

The deputies still however continued sitting, and were employed in discussing the code of criminal law; but their deliberations were interrupted by the frequent cries of the multitude for bread.

bread. At length the tempest seemed to have exhausted its force; the crowd sunk into a momentary silence; the militia who had marched from Paris, benumbed with cold and wet, sought shelter in the taverns, the stables, and the courts of the different houses; they were liberally supplied with liquor and provisions; and the marquis de la Fayette, witness of their joy and abundance, again returned to the castle and communicated to the king the welcome tidings of public tranquillity. It was now about two o'clock in the morning, and his majesty, oppressed by fatigue, prepared to retire to rest.

The marquis, fatally impressed by the deceitful quiet which prevailed, contented himself with placing a few scattered sentinels, and hastened to rejoin the national assembly. Though monsieur Mounier declared, that if any doubt remained he would still keep the deputies sitting, he was answered by the marquis with so perfect a reliance on the attachment of his own army, and so favourable a representation of the tranquillity that reigned every where, that the president consented to dismiss the assembly, and resigned himself to sleep; an example that was soon followed by the general himself.

If the repose of the marquis de la Fayette was sound and unalloyed, the slumbers of the insur-

gents were short and stormy. Sleep seemed to have recruited their strength without allaying their rage. Before the break of day their discordant cries and sanguinary menaces afforded a melancholy presage of what might be expected from their active fury. The name of the queen was mingled with their imperious demand of bread. At length, about six in the morning, the frantic crowd precipitated themselves on the hotel of the gardes-du-corps. The thin remnant of the household troops were incapable of stemming the torrent; the doors were forced; fifteen of the gardes-du-corps were dragged prisoners by the multitude; the rest fled towards the castle, and were eagerly pursued by their blood-thirsty enemies; these deluged with their numbers the courts of the royal residence; two of the gardes-du-corps fell a victim to their fury near the iron railing; a third was slaughtered on the marble staircase; the scattered sentinels placed by the marquis de la Fayette were inactive spectators of the bloody scene; the household troops that had escaped the first attack, in vain attempted to defend the interior of the palace; their feeble barrier was soon pierced by the insurgents, who now rushed forwards to the apartments of the queen,

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The door of the royal chamber was defended by monsieur Miomandre, a garde-du-corps, whose name well deserves to be recorded in history; while he heroically opposed himself to the host of murderers already stained with the blood of his companions, he loudly called to her attendants to save the queen. That princess was instantly awakened by her women, and by a private passage was conducted almost naked to the apartment of the king; monsieur Miomandre, her gallant protector, fell indeed covered with wounds; but his life was preserved by the goodness of his constitution and the skill of his surgeons.

A short moment before the multitude rushed towards the apartments of the queen, the king had been roused from his sleep by the increasing tumult. The duke of Luxembourg had also been awakened by the same cause; he now presented himself in the chamber of his sovereign, followed by the few gardes-du-corps that he could collect. Round the standard of these, the ancient French guards ranged themselves, and joined in repelling the attempts of the insurgents and assassins; by degrees the crowd was compelled to retire into the lower courts; while regular posts were established; and every precaution taken to secure the castle from a second attack.

On the first intelligence of these disastrous events, the marquis de la Fayette quitted his bed, and endeavoured to atone by his activity for his former credulity and negligence; his splendid promises of security were now converted into reproaches; and shame succeeded to misplaced confidence. As he pressed with hasty steps towards the castle, he beheld on every side the fatal effects of his own imprudence; motley groups of men and women, drunk with fury and liquor, armed with pikes and hatchets, and bearing aloft as trophies, the bleeding heads of the victims to their barbarity. The militia of Paris rallied at the known voice of their commander; they flew to his support; and their united efforts wrested from the populace several of the gardes-du-corps, whose fate had been deferred to render it more lingering and cruel. A considerable body of the national troops were also introduced into the castle; and to sooth the fury of the people, the king and queen, by the advice of the marquis, appeared in an open balcony; while the gardes-du-corps were prevailed on to contribute to the general tranquillity, by the humiliating measure of surrendering their arms and accoutrements.

Yet these painful concessions were far from satisfying the multitude. The Parisians conceived

ceived that plenty could only be secured to the capital by the presence of the monarch ; they now demanded, with imperious cries, the removal of the royal family from Versailles ; and the king, after a short deliberation, was compelled to acquiesce in their demand.

Before his majesty had engaged in this last promise, he had expressed a desire that the deputies of the national assembly should wait upon him at the castle, and assist him with their councils. Though the royal request was seconded by the eloquence of the president, yet the majority considered it as inconsistent with the dignity of the assembly ; they urged, that their deliberations in the palace of the sovereign would wear the appearance of constraint, and be subject to the suspicions of the people. A deputation of thirty-six members were, however, allotted to wait on the king ; and on the news that his majesty intended to remove to Paris, that number was swelled to an hundred, and was appointed to accompany him to the capital.

It was about one o'clock in the evening, when Louis the Sixteenth, attended by the royal family, set out from Versailles ; and the order of the march presented to the spectator a scene of horror that surpasses description. A crowd of frantic women, still staggering under the debauch of the preceding

preceding night, and still stained with the blood which they had wantonly shed, mounted on the horses, fantastically ornamented with the hats and uniforms, and armed with the weapons, of the household troops; these were surrounded by a host of men, the refuse of a vast and luxurious capital; two of which, with their arms naked and bloody, displayed aloft on their pikes the heads of two of the gardes-du-corps, whom they had inhumanly massacred. Behind were the survivors of those unhappy gentlemen on foot, bare headed, without arms, and shuddering with horror at the goary visages of their ill-fated comrades. The royal family themselves followed, accompanied by the dragoons, the regiment of Flanders, and the hundred Swiss; continually exposed to the insults of a licentious rabble, who incessantly reproached them as the authors of that scarcity which the hand of Providence had inflicted.

In this picture the queen presented an object as extraordinary as affecting; though youth and beauty naturally excite compassion; and though illustrious sufferers generally inspire pity from the comparison of their former splendour with their fallen state; yet her subjects beheld her situation with savage transport; they still attributed to her the design of attempting to starve them into sub-
jection

jection by a fictitious famine; and so lively were the impressions of their own distress, that their indignation precluded that sympathy which is rarely denied to the unfortunate great. But the consolation, which the queen was not allowed to derive from the humanity of her people, she in some measure found in her own magnanimity.

The confused and tedious march from Versailles to Paris continued from one o'clock in the evening till seven, when his majesty and the royal family entered the capital, rather amidst the reproaches than the acclamations of the inhabitants; and the king, after having presented himself at the Hotel de Ville, and listened to an address from monsieur Bailly, was, with his royal consort, escorted to the Tuilleries.

Thus concluded the sixth of October, a day which will long remain memorable in the annals of France. Yet while we lament the horrors which disgrace it, it is with some satisfaction that we trace their source to the blind fury and frantic rage of the refuse of Paris. Devoid of design, and incapable of system, the stings of hunger seem alone to have roused them to action; to them the acceptance of the declaration of rights, and the articles of the constitution, were matters of indifference; famine was the object of their terrors; and

and amidst every attempt to sooth them, the high price of bread was the subject of their clamours; to this were added the entertainment of the gardes-du-corps; and the intended flight of the king to Metz, a project which has since been confirmed by a letter from count d'Estaing to the queen. In short, much impatience on the part of the populace, and much negligence in those to whom the chief military power had been entrusted, combined to produce events the most sanguinary and lamentable.

This fatal insurrection was however attended with one other circumstance, not unworthy of observation. We have already remarked the firmness with which the duke of Orleans had early opposed himself to the despotism of the throne. His repeated exiles from court; his adherence to the claims of the commons; the large territorial sacrifices he had voluntarily made; and the liberality with which he had applied his revenue to relieve the distresses of the capital, had attached to him the hearts of the people; but at the same time had rendered him equally obnoxious to the champions of arbitrary power, and those ambitious spirits who hoped to rise by the favour of the multitude, and who found themselves eclipsed by his superior rank and influence. These insinuated that the name and popularity of the duke
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might be applied to purposes the most dangerous; and that prince, who had before given no insignificant proof of his forbearance, by declining the proffered honour of president of the national assembly, now established his character for moderation, by yielding to the wishes of his sovereign; and accepting a commission to the court of St. James's, he withdrew himself from the eyes of his partial countrymen.

The curiosity of our readers will perhaps be gratified, if passing the bounds originally assigned to this performance, we preserve unbroken the thread of narration, and press forward to the conclusion. In the beginning of 1790, a criminal enquiry was instituted by the Chatelet into the massacre of the sixth of October. Rumours were artfully propagated, and reports industriously circulated, the most injurious to the reputation of the duke of Orleans. But that prince, by his sudden and unexpected return, confounded the malice of his enemies, who had triumphed in his absence; the report of the Chatelet, in which the duke of Orleans and the comte de Mirabeau were strongly alluded to, was presented to the representatives of the nation. It consisted of an unconnected mass of hearsay evidence, destitute of probability, and unsupported by circumstances; as such it was received by the national

tional assembly, who, after a deliberate hearing, voted it frivolous, and unworthy of credit.

About the same time that the duke of Orleans withdrew to England, monsieur Mounier, comte Lally-Tollendal, and several members of the national assembly, disgusted at the little attention that had lately been paid to their representations, and despairing of the safety of the vessel of the state, abandoned the stations that had been assigned them, and sought in Swisserland a shelter from the fury of the tempest.

Chapter the Fifty-second.

SITUATION OF THE KING—OF MONSIEUR NECKER
—PROCLAMATION OF HIS MAJESTY TO THE
PROVINCES, ON HIS REMOVAL TO PARIS—
MARTIAL LAW—POWER OF THE NATIONAL
ASSEMBLY—OFFER OF THE CLERGY, ON CON-
DITION OF BEING PERMITTED TO RETAIN
THEIR POSSESSIONS—THE ESTATES OF THE
CHURCH DECLARED THE PROPERTY OF THE
NATION—PROHIBITION OF MONASTIC VOWS
—PENSIONS ASSIGNED TO THE RELIGIOUS—
DEBTS OF THE CLERGY TRANSFERRED TO THE
NATION—STIPENDS ALLOTTED TO THE CLER-
GY—DIVISION OF FRANCE INTO EIGHTY-
THREE DEPARTMENTS—ADDRESS OF THE NA-
TIONAL ASSEMBLY—INCREASE OF PAY TO
THE ARMY AND NAVY—RIGHT OF WAR AND
PEACE VESTED IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY
—SUPPRESSION OF TITLES, LIVERIES, COATS
OF ARMS, &c.—CONSPIRACIES OF MONSIEUR
FAVRAS AND MARECHAL MAILLEBOIS—COM-
MOTION

MOTION AT NISMES—CEREMONY OF THE CONFEDERATION.

THE prostrate successor of Louis the Fourteenth and Fifteenth, conducted in subject triumph to his capital by his victorious people, reduced to follow a frantic crowd, stained with the blood and adorned with the spoils of his faithful guards, presents to the reader no common lesson on the instability of human power. While the situation of his minister offers to our reflection the fond presumption of those who endeavour to erect their grandeur on the slippery basis of popularity.

We have already beheld monsieur Necker recalled from exile by the general voice of France; ascend but a few weeks, we behold him crowned with laurels, and adored as the irreproachable minister, the guardian angel of a nation. But he was now doomed with his sovereign to experience the mutability of favour, and of fortune; as long as the welfare of the state seemed to depend solely on loans, banks, and pecuniary negociations, he stood aloof from his rivals, and appeared to guide the helm of empire with no unsteady or unskilful hand. But no sooner was the vessel launched upon

upon the tempestuous ocean of civil discord, than dismay and despair succeeded to hope and confidence. He heard with horror the howlings of the tempest; and silently abandoned his station to more adventurous or more experienced pilots. The plaudits of the crowd were no more; even that last gratification of vanity was extinguished; and though he still continued apparently to stand at the head of the finances, his plans were rarely adopted, and his representations were received with cold indifference.

The first measure of the king, on his arrival at Paris, was to issue a proclamation to allay the doubts and fears of the provinces, and to represent his departure from Versailles, rather as his own voluntary choice, than the effect of constraint. He stated, that he had with confidence fixed his residence in the capital, the inhabitants of which he was well assured would never join in any attempt to restrain the liberty of their sovereign; and he added, that as soon as the national assembly shall have terminated the grand object of their labours, the re-establishment of the public welfare; that then he would execute the plan that he had long conceived, and visit, without pomp, the different provinces of his kingdom, to prove by his presence that all his people were equally dear to him.

This proclamation was immediately followed by a second from the national assembly, in which it was declared; that though liberty was the source of prosperity to empires, yet licence was subversive of their power and grandeur; that although, during the hour of tranquillity, the execution of the laws might be enforced without any extraordinary exertion of the public authority, yet in cases of particular emergency, particular expedients must be resorted to; that impressed with these considerations, and desirous of preserving the tranquillity of France, the national assembly had thought proper to form a code of martial law; by this code all municipal officers, in instances of civil commotion, were authorized to employ military force, and were to be accountable for not using the means that they were thus entrusted with. That the national guard, the regular troops, and the *marechaussée*, were instructed to march at the requisition of the municipal officers, but were still to be accompanied by one of the latter; and that on the crowd not retiring, on being thrice warned by the civil magistrate, it was then lawful for him to have recourse to the military, who were commanded to execute his orders.

From the moment the king had fixed his residence at Paris, the national assembly, who had also

also removed to the capital, seemed to have engrossed all authority, while the power of the foreign was reduced to a vain and empty shadow. Decree followed decree with a rapidity that astonished the members themselves; but with whatever success their regulations to restore order might be attended, the state of the finances, and the fatal *deficit*, still presented difficulties the most serious and formidable; that deficit had been stated in May 1789, by monsieur Necker, at fifty-six millions of livres, and was now swelled by the suppression of the duty on salt, and the deficiencies in the customs and excise, to an enormous amount. The two privileged orders were already subjected in common with their fellow citizens, to the taxes from which they had formerly been exempted; but this promised only a scanty and tardy supply; the public necessities were great and urgent; and the eyes of the assembly were turned to the property of the church, as the sole effectual resource.

The affluence of the ecclesiastical order had been severely wounded by the abolition of tythes; but though their power was considerably impaired by that regulation, their possessions were still an immense source of wealth and influence; and held out the most alluring temptation to the new government, equally anxious to

diminish the public burden, and to depress an order, to whose interests their very existence was hostile, and in whose professions they could never cordially confide. They were stimulated by the too powerful motives of humbling their enemies, and establishing their own authority; and the clergy, were not blind or indifferent to the danger that menaced them; to avert it, they offered by the archbishop of Aix, a contribution of four hundred millions of livres, or near seventeen millions sterling, provided they might be permitted to enjoy their revenues in peace.

This proposal served only to confirm the assembly in the idea they had entertained of the value of the proposed spoil. In the compte rendu of monsieur Necker the possessions of the church had been stated at five millions sterling of revenue; but as this calculation was drawn from the returns of the possessors, they were supposed greatly to exceed that estimation.

It was about the beginning of November, after a long and strenuous debate, in which the abbé Mauri signalized his eloquence in defending the interests of his order, that the assembly decreed, that all ecclesiastical property was at the disposal of the nation; subject to the charge of providing, in a proper manner, for the expence of divine worship, the support of the ministers of
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the church, and the relief of the poor, under the inspection and according to the instructions of the different provinces.

That in the future disposition which should be made for the support of the ministers of religion, not less than twelve hundred livres of income should be assigned to any curacy, without including the house and gardens dependant on it.

This was soon followed by a proclamation from the king, stating that his majesty, at the request of the national assembly, had thought proper to suspend the nomination of all benefices, with the sole exception of curacies; and commanded all tribunals, administrative bodies, and municipalities, to make known this ordonnance, and to respect it as the established law of the kingdom.

Though these regulations took place towards the close of the year eighty-nine, yet it was not till the ensuing year was far advanced, that the fate of the clergy was finally determined; each motion was productive of a fresh and vigorous debate; and the opposition of the abbé Mauri, though useless to his order, was highly honourable to himself.

Perhaps it will not be displeasing to the reader, if, abandoning the chronological order we have hitherto generally pursued, we present him at

once with a view of the different regulations, which were adopted on this important subject.

A. D. 1790. In February 1790, all possessors of benefices, or of pensions on benefices, were enjoined to declare before the municipality of the city which they inhabited, or were nearest to, the number, the title, and the situation of the benefices that they possessed, as well as of all pensions which they enjoyed; under the penalty of forfeiting those benefices and pensions which they omitted to specify.

At the same time it was declared, till other future reductions more considerable could be made, that in every order throughout the different municipalities of the kingdom, one religious house, where there existed two, should be suppressed; two in every municipality where there existed three; and three where there existed four; and on the thirteenth of the same month a decree of the national assembly prohibited in future all monastic vows in either sex.

On the twenty-sixth the pensions of the religious who should chuse to quit their houses, were regulated by the national assembly. In the mendicant orders, those under fifty years of age were assigned seven hundred livres; those above fifty, and under seventy, eight hundred livres; and those above seventy one thousand livres. In the
other

other religious orders, the members under fifty were allotted nine hundred livres; those above fifty and under seventy, one thousand livres; and those above seventy, twelve hundred livres; those religious, who were formerly known by the celebrated name of *Jesuits*, and who still resided in France, but possessed not in any benefice, or pension from state, a sum equal to that assigned to the other religious of the same age, were included in this regulation.

The lay brethren, who had entered into solemn vows, and those who could prove an engagement formally contracted between themselves and their monastery, were to receive, on quitting their houses, three hundred livres per annum, if they were under fifty years of age; four hundred livres if above fifty, and under seventy; and five hundred livres if above seventy.

In March following it was decreed, that the religious who should prefer residing in those houses which should be appointed for them, should enjoy pensions proportioned to their age, and in every respect conformable to the pensions which had been assigned to those who had quitted their houses.

In exposing to sale the mass of ecclesiastical property, not only the maintenance of individuals was to be provided for, but the claims of private

creditors were to be respected. The estates of the church were burdened with very considerable debts. These were stated by the committee of finances at one hundred and forty-nine millions, four hundred thousand livres, or upward of six millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling. In March the national assembly had decreed the alienation of ecclesiastical lands to the amount of four hundred millions of livres, or about seventeen millions sterling, to the different municipalities of the kingdom; in the April following, they resolved that these lands should be considered free from every mortgage or debt; that the creditors should on no account oppose the sale of them; but at the same time they declared the creditors of the clergy the creditors of the state; and pledged the public faith for the punctual payment of their principal and interest.

No sooner had the national assembly relieved the fears of the creditors of the church, than they prepared to extinguish the hopes of the clergy by allotting those scanty stipends which were hereafter to bound their expectations. These were fixed finally in June; and were rather proportioned to the wants of the church in its primeval simplicity, than suited to the religious establishment of a great and magnificent empire. The bishops and the dignified clergy were reduced in
general

general to less than one fourth of their former incomes. Of the parochial clergy or curates, those of Paris were assigned six thousand livres; in towns where the population exceeded fifty thousand souls, four thousand livres; in those where the numbers extended from ten thousand to fifty thousand, three thousand livres; where under ten thousand, and above three thousand, the salary was limited to two thousand four hundred livres; in all towns, under three thousand souls, two thousand livres; and in the country from eighteen hundred down to twelve hundred livres, according to the different degrees of population.

The income of vicar was also determined from two thousand four hundred to seven hundred livres, according to their rank in the church, and the population of their parishes.

Resolutions which for ever extinguished the splendour of the Gallican church, and reduced to a bare subsistence an order so formidable from its wealth, its numbers, and its connection, could not fail of being canvassed with freedom and severity. On the one side, the conduct of the national assembly was considered as subversive of public faith and equity; it was urged, that the possessions of the church had been consecrated by successive charters, and authentic titles, from the earliest period of its establishment. That even
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the preservation of religion was closely connected with the opulence and independence of its ministers; and that if it was true, that the kingdom contained an hundred and thirty thousand ecclesiastics who had devoted themselves to the duties of priesthood, and had sacrificed their liberty, with the other advantages of society, in the expectation of becoming an abbé, a dean, or a bishop, then government by the confiscation of their property, and by the extinction of their lawful hopes, had committed one hundred and thirty thousand acts of injustice.

On the other hand, the partizans of the measure painted in lively colours the exorbitant riches and shameful luxury of the clergy; they contrasted these with the poverty of the people in general, and the distress of the nation at large. They pleaded that no other means remained of checking the public debt, which otherwise from its rapid growth, must fatally overshadow the prosperity of the empire; and they asserted, that although the rules of prescription might be supported in a court of justice, that they never could bind a legislative assembly.

Though it is an undoubted maxim, that the interest of individuals ought to give way to the prosperity or safety of the public, yet it is a question

question how far the former can be promoted by an open violation of property ; once those sacred boundaries are broken down, it is difficult to fix limits to the torrent ; and the example, at all times dangerous, is more peculiarly so in the moments of fluctuation which produce or accompany a revolution. The state indeed, embarrassed and oppressed, demanded large sacrifices ; but those sacrifices ought to have been general and equal, and not partially extorted from a particular body ; and even if the wealth of the clergy was considered as having overflowed its proper banks, the scanty stipends which the national assembly substituted, seem also inadequate to support with dignity the ministers of the church.

The national assembly were not so entirely occupied in providing for the necessities of the state, by despoiling those whom they considered as their irreconcilable enemies, as to neglect the measures necessary for the future election of national representatives. To facilitate this by a decree published in the beginning of the year, France was divided into eighty-three parts, each forming a square of eighteen leagues by eighteen. These large divisions were called *departments* ; they were proportioned again into districts called *communes* ; and the *communes* were subdivided
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into parts, on which were bestowed the name of *cantons*.

All voters for the cantons, or primary assemblies, were to contribute to the state, as a qualification, the local valuation of three days labour; and they were entitled to name to the communes, one out of every two hundred voters; these, as their qualification to be returned, were to contribute to the public the amount of ten days labour. The communes were to chose from the persons thus returned to the department; and the deputies of the department to chose their deputies to the national assembly. Nine deputies were allotted to each of the eighty-three departments; but from the peculiar composition of the department of Paris, the number, which would have amounted to seven hundred and forty-seven, was fixed at seven hundred and forty-five.

It would neither be interesting to the reader, nor consistent with the limits of this work, to enter into a long and complicated detail of decrees which respect the minutiae of government; but the address of the assembly to the nation may be considered as an authentic justification of their conduct, an appeal to the tribunal of public opinion, and as such deserves no inconsiderable share of attention. It was published about the middle
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of February; and was preceded a few days by an oath which was administered to every deputy, and to the different districts throughout France. "I swear to be faithful to the nation, to the law, to the king; and to maintain with all my power the constitution decreed by the national assembly, and accepted by the king."

The address stated, that at the same time that the national assembly received such numerous marks of approbation and congratulation from the various provinces and cities of the kingdom, they could not but be sensible of the interested murmurs which had been excited by measures adopted for the suppression of abuses and the extinction of prejudices. That they considered it as their duty vigilantly to guard against these murmurs, lest the propagation of them should alienate the minds of the people from their representatives; the effects of whose labours, and the objects of whose views, they proceeded to delineate.

They asserted that the national assembly, in the midst of tempests, had traced with a firm hand the principles of a constitution, which secured for ever the freedom of the people. That they had established the *rights of men*, forgotten and insulted for so many ages. That they had restored to the nation the prerogative of taxing themselves;

themselves; while they had preserved the principles of the monarchy in pronouncing the sovereign inviolable, and the throne hereditary.

That those orders, whose antique pretensions were the objects of so much jealousy, were now lost in the general name of citizens; and that an army composed solely of citizens, assembled by patriotism, and inspired by honour, watched over the safety, and were active to restore the tranquillity of the state.

That the feudal system, so long obnoxious, was abolished; that the provinces were delivered from a vexatious administration of justice; that all arbitrary distinctions were annihilated; and that the national assembly, by the new division of France, had effaced the last traces of prejudice, and instituted, instead of a narrow attachment to a particular province, a love for the kingdom in general.

The abolition of a venal magistracy, and the reform of the criminal code, were long and loudly demanded; these demands have been complied with; to this may be added, vexatious taxes repealed, immoderate pensions reduced, and an unremitting attention to the finances, which promises the most effectual relief to your distress.

“ Behold, Frenchmen, our work, or rather
 “ your own; for we are only your instruments;
 “ it

“ it is you who have enlightened, encouraged,
“ and supported us through our labours; to
“ what happy epoch are we already arrived;
“ what an honourable inheritance may you be-
“ queath to your posterity; all raised to the
“ rank of citizens; admissible to all employ-
“ ments; equal in the eyes of the law; free to
“ act, to speak, and to write; independent of the
“ will of any man, and only owing obedience to
“ the common authority: what condition can be
“ more enviable? is there a single citizen, wor-
“ thy of that name, who dares look backwards,
“ who would remove the ruins with which we
“ are surrounded to restore the ancient edi-
“ fice?

“ But we have destroyed every thing! we
“ have acted with too much precipitation! ex-
“ claim our enemies! It was indeed necessary
“ to rebuild every thing; and are those who ac-
“ cuse our precipitation, ignorant, that tardy and
“ indecisive steps have never led to any effec-
“ tual reform; and that the abuse which is per-
“ mitted to remain, becomes soon the support
“ and restorer of those which we flatter our-
“ selves with having extinguished?

“ But our assemblies are tumultuous! Of
“ what consequence is this, if our decrees are
“ prudent? We are accused of aspiring to chi-
“ merical

“ merical perfection! Ridiculous reproach;
“ which it is easy to perceive is only a latent
“ wish to perpetuate abuses; but it is impos-
“ sible, it has been said, to regenerate a nation
“ old and corrupted! Is it necessary to answer,
“ that those are only corrupted who would per-
“ petuate corrupt abuses; and that a nation is
“ restored from the day that it is resolute to be
“ born again to freedom? Behold the new ge-
“ neration! How already their hearts palpitate
“ with joy and hope! how pure, noble, and pa-
“ triotic, are their sentiments! with what en-
“ thusiasm they each day contend for the honour
“ of being admitted to take the oath of citizen!
“ But wherefore reply to a reproach so despic-
“ able? Is the national assembly reduced to justify
“ itself for not having despaired of the people of
“ France?

“ We have done nothing for the people;
“ they have dared to assert! and yet the cause
“ of the people is every where triumphant.
“ Nothing done for the people! Has not every
“ abuse that has been destroyed, prepared, or
“ assured their relief; or was there a single abuse
“ which did not in its consequences press upon
“ them?

“ But they complained not! the excess of
“ their grief stifled their cries—they are now
“ miserable!

“ miserable! Rather say that they are yet miserable; but they shall not remain so long.

“ We have destroyed the executive power!

“ No: call it the ministerial power; and it is

“ that power which has often degraded, and

“ would have destroyed the executive. The

“ executive power we have enlightened by

“ pointing out to it its rights; and we have

“ rendered it more noble, by obliging it to re-

“ ascend to the source of its authority, the au-

“ thority of the people. But it is without force.

“ Against the constitution and the law, this is

“ true; but in support of them it will be more

“ effectual than ever it was.

“ The people are in arms! Yes, for their

“ defence; and it was necessary. But in va-

“ rious places, a long train of disorders have

“ been the result.—And can they reproach the

“ national assembly with this? can they impute

“ to them disasters at which they still shudder,

“ and which they endeavoured to prevent by

“ repeated decrees?

“ We have exceeded our powers! The an-

“ swer is simple. Undoubtedly we were con-

“ vened to frame a constitution; that was the

“ wish, that was the object of all France. Was

“ it possible to create that constitution, or form

“ a body imperfect as it is, of constitutional de-

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“ crees,

“ crees, without those powers which we have
“ exercised? Let us go further; without the
“ national assembly France was lost; without
“ that principle which submits every thing to
“ a majority of free voices, and which has made
“ all our decrees, it was impossible to conceive
“ a national assembly; it is impossible to con-
“ ceive, we will not say a constitution, but even
“ the hope of irrevocably destroying the smallest
“ abuse. This principle is an eternal truth;
“ it has been acknowledged throughout all
“ France; it is to be found in a thousand shapes
“ in those numerous addresses of attachment,
“ which have encountered on all the roads the
“ crowd of libels, in which you reproach us with
“ having exceeded our powers. Those addresses,
“ those congratulations, those homages, those
“ patriotic oaths; what a confirmation do they
“ not afford of those powers which our accusers
“ would dispute.

“ Such are the reproaches, Frenchmen, which
“ your representatives are subjected to in those
“ numerous and criminal publications which af-
“ fect to proclaim the grief of our fellow-citizens.
“ But in vain do our enemies flatter themselves
“ with the hope of discouraging us; our ardour
“ redoubles, and it will not be long before you
“ will be sensible of the effects of it.”

From

From the language of vindication the national assembly proceed to hold out the future blessings of an army composed of citizens, a series of taxes which should respect agriculture and industry, a clergy equally strangers to poverty and riches, a code of criminal laws dictated by reason, by justice, and humanity, a code of civil law entrusted to judges chosen by the suffrages of the people; and a system of national instruction and education which should place the constitution under the safe-guard of the rising generation.

“ Behold, Frenchmen,” continue they, “ the prospect of happiness and glory which opens to your view! Some steps yet remain; and thence the aspersions of the enemies of the revolution. Distrust too much vivacity; above all, dread every kind of violence, since disorder may become fatal to liberty. You love that liberty; you are now possessed of it, shew yourselves worthy of preserving it; attend faithfully to the spirit and the letter of the decrees of your representatives, accepted, or sanctioned by the king. Think on the three sacred words which secure those decrees; THE NATION, THE LAW, and THE KING. The nation, is you; the law, is you again, because it is your will; the king, is the guardian of the law. Whatever falsehoods may be

“ dispersed, confide in that union. The king was
“ formerly deceived ; it is now you that are ; and
“ the virtues of the king are grieved at that decep-
“ tion. He would preserve his people from those
“ deceivers whom he has banished from his throne ;
“ he will defend from them the cradle of his
“ son ; since in the midst of your representatives
“ he has declared that he will render the heir
“ of the crown, the guardian of the constitution.
“ For our own part, pursuing our incessant
“ labours, devoted, consecrated to the comple-
“ tion of the constitution, your work as well as
“ ours, we shall finish it, assisted by all the in-
“ formation of France, and vanquishers over all
“ obstacles. Satisfied of our own rectitude, and
“ convinced of the desirable progress towards
“ your happiness, we shall place in your hands
“ this sacred deposit of the constitution, en-
“ trusted to the protection of those new virtues ;
“ the seeds of which, long secreted in your bo-
“ soms, have burst forth on the first dawn of li-
“ berty.”

Whatever advantages the national assembly might expect to derive from this address, they neglected not to avail themselves of every other favourable occasion. The scanty pay of the army had long been the subject of complaint ; and the soldiers looked up with impatience to relief, from
a distre

a distress which was rendered more intolerable by the exactions of their officers. The national assembly were neither insensible to their misery, nor indifferent to the opportunity that offered of securing the gratitude and attachment of that formidable class of men. In June a decree was published which increased the pay of the army about one fourth ; and was soon followed by a second, which imparted the same augmentation to the marine.

Though the fortitude and vigilance of the national assembly seem never to have deserted them, yet both were scarce sufficient to repel or elude the various difficulties which each hour presented. A dispute respecting the right of fishery on the coast of America threatened to involve the courts of Madrid and London in open hostilities ; both urged their warlike preparations with rival diligence ; and the king of France, who considered himself bound by the family compact to support the pretensions of the kindred throne of Spain, and amidst the armaments of his neighbours to protect the commerce of his subjects from insult, demanded, by his minister, of the national assembly the supplies necessary for equipping fourteen sail of the line.

The message of the sovereign, although immediately complied with, was productive of con-

sequences the most important to the constitution; In the unsettled state of public affairs, the national assembly could not be insensible to the numerous embarrassments with which a war must have been attended. The expences of it could not but press heavy on a people who had been taught to expect the daily diminution of their burdens; the discontent of the majority of the nobility was deep and undisguised; their situation called them to military command; the soldiers, it was true, had hitherto displayed the most generous ardour in defence of the new government; but when once assembled in a camp, their officers might regain their former ascendancy; and those arms which had been provided against the foreign enemies of France, might be employed to subvert her constitution. The example of the revolution was an object of terror to every despotic power; the king of Spain, it was presumed, could not behold the depression of the royal prerogative of the House of Bourbon without secret indignation; the intrigues of the baron de Breteuil, who had always possessed the confidence of the queen, were supposed to have extended to the court of Madrid; and it was well known that the aristocratical party regarded an approaching war with hope and exultation.

These united considerations suggested to the
national

national assembly the danger of leaving in the hands of the sovereign the uncontrolled right of peace and war. It was urged indeed that this right could not with any propriety be separated from the executive power; and the count de Mirabeau, who had hitherto appeared the most zealous champion of the pretensions of the people, supported with his eloquence on this occasion the prerogative of the crown. It was in vain that he urged that the executive power consisted in the right of employing the public force; "and what," demanded he, "is war, but an application of that force?" His arguments, generally successful, were opposed by the fears and jealousies of the people; it was asserted that the subjects in almost every war had been the victims of the caprice or ambition of the sovereign and his ministers; and that the prosperity of the empire had been continually sacrificed to the lust of transient conquests, or the vain acquisition of barren laurels. France still groaned under the victories of Louis the Fourteenth; and every triumph served only to augment the debt, and encrease the misery of the nation.

Though the debate was long and vigorously continued, the triumph of the popular party was complete; it was decreed that the right of peace and war belonged to the nation; and that war

could not be declared but by a decree of the national assembly, originating in a message from the king, and sanctioned by him. That the care to watch over the external security of the kingdom, and to maintain its rights and possessions, was delegated to the king by the constitution; that to him were entrusted all foreign correspondence; the conduct of political negotiations; the choice of agents; the preparation of a war establishment proportioned to that of the neighbouring states; the distribution of the forces both by land and by sea; and the direction of them in case of actual hostilities.

But at the same time it was provided on the appearance or commencement of war, either in support of an ally, or in defence of the nation, that the king should communicate without delay to the legislative body, the causes and motives of hostilities; and if that body should happen not to be sitting, that his majesty should immediately assemble it.

By the fourth article the assembly, desirous of acquiring the confidence of Europe, and of extinguishing all jealousies that might have arisen from the armament they had lately decreed, declared, *that the French nation would never embark in any war with a view to conquest, nor ever employ her forces against the liberties of any people.*

This

This was enforced by the article which followed, and which specified, that if on the royal message, the legislative body should judge the hostilities commenced a culpable aggression of the minister, or of any other agent of the executive power, the author of such aggression should be prosecuted as guilty of treason to the nation; and if also on the message of the king, the legislative body should decide that the war ought not to be commenced or continued, that then the executive power was instantly to take the necessary measures for preventing or terminating all hostilities.

Such were the articles that transferred from the crown to the national assembly a prerogative which the former had peaceably enjoyed for fourteen centuries; and which it might have probably still preserved, had not the discussion of it been introduced at a moment when distrust overwhelmed every other consideration, and when the ambiguous conduct of Spain furnished such serious matter for alarm.

The victory of the popular party over the pretensions of the crown was only preparatory to a more decisive and signal triumph over the nobility. While the titles and distinctions of that order remained, it was considered as impossible to alienate from it the habitual respect of the multitude. On the nineteenth of June, the celebrated

brated motion was brought forward to suppress the titles of duke, marquis, count, &c. it was opposed with that warmth and vigour which might be expected from men, who combated in defence of those honours, which had been acquired by the valour and virtues of their ancestors ; but all resistance was unequal to the torrent of enthusiasm ; after a long and animated debate, the national assembly decreed, that considering hereditary nobility cannot subsist in a free state, the titles of duke, count, marquis, baron, excellency, greatness, abbé, &c. should be abolished, and that all citizens should take in future their family and patronymick names ; that no one should in future cause liveries to be worn, or take a coat of arms ; and that the title of monsieur should no longer be applied to any individual or body.

Thus in one moment were three hundred thousand gentlemen degraded from those proud distinctions which they had inherited or acquired, and reduced to a level with the mass of the people ; while prejudice must loudly condemn, even impartiality is startled at a resolution so repugnant to ancient or modern policy. In the earliest traces of government, in the woods of Germany, we distinguish the respect that was paid to illustrious descent ; and it was by the purity of his birth,

birth, that the Barbarian magistrate was raised to the administration of justice. Even in the republic of Rome, and during her most virtuous and prosperous periods, the patrician was regarded with submissive reverence: experience had confirmed the advantages of these distinctions; and in different forms and degrees they had been introduced into every modern government; in France, indeed, the admission into the order of nobility had become scandalously venal and corrupt; but although the luxuriant branches required pruning, yet the tree itself, whose fruits had been displayed in the successive victories of Condé, Turenne, and Luxembourg, might still have been preserved; and the root might still have been cherished as the source of future grandeur and prosperity to France.

While the popular party within doors swept before it all opposition, it was not entirely free from disquiet without. In the beginning of the year, monsieur de Favras, a gentleman of small fortune, but of ancient family, was accused of a design to carry off the king to Metz; and after a formal trial atoned with his life for his temerity.

The project of the *compte de Maillebois* was represented as more extensive in its branches, and more important in its object. His negotiations were supposed to have embraced the courts of
Turin,

Turin, Madrid, and Vienna; and it was asserted, that he prepared to erect the standard of revolt to the new constitution, at the head of an army composed of Italians, Spaniards, and Germans. However destitute these rumours might be of foundation, it is certain that restless veteran thought it prudent to withdraw from the suspicions of his countrymen, to the protection of the United Provinces, where he enjoyed a high command.

At Nismes, the fever of discontent was rapid in its progress, and fatal in its consequences; that city was the residence of a numerous nobility, proud of their descent, and zealously attached to the catholic persuasion. It had also become the seat of a considerable body of protestants. Religious differences were heightened by political animosity; and while the catholics regarded with mingled horror and aversion every measure of the national assembly, the protestants looked up with gratitude and admiration to those resolutions, which restored them to religious and civil liberty. Their mutual enmity could not long be confined to ineffectual reproaches; arms ministered to their fury; for two successive days the streets were deluged with blood; and it was not until several hundred citizens had perished, that the victory of the protestants established tranquillity.

The national assembly could not but be deeply
afflicted

afflicted with these repeated instances of tumult and disaffection; more firmly to bind the people to the new government, and to unite them in one general cause, it was resolved to have recourse to the solemnity of oaths and compacts. In various provincial towns, civic feasts had been already instituted, and associations had taken place; and it was now determined to concentrate these patriotic effusions in one point of view, and by a general confederation at Paris, to assert the pre-eminence of the capital, and to combine the zeal of the kingdom.

To this memorable festival, every district throughout France, every municipal body, every corps of regular or national troops, were required to send their deputies; nor was the monarch himself to be exempted from that oath, which was to consecrate the mutual ties between the sovereign and his subjects.

The day fixed for this sacred ceremony was the fourteenth of July, and the place, the *champ de Mars*, a spacious plain which joins the suburbs of the capital. In the middle an altar was erected; and seats were placed round, capable of containing several hundred thousands of spectators; on this occasion, the enthusiasm of Paris was eminently displayed. Every hand contributed with transport to the grateful labour; and the strength

strength of the men was rivalled by the alacrity of the women.

The distant provinces were not inattentive to the summons of the capital ; on the appointed day the deputies were assembled from every quarter of the kingdom ; and the duke of Orleans, braving the artifices of his enemies, returned from England to pledge his faith to the maintenance of that constitution, to the establishment of which his patriotic efforts had so largely contributed.

About four o'clock in the evening, on the fourteenth of July, the marquis de la Fayette ascended the altar ; and, in the name of the national troops of France, pronounced the following oath ; “ I swear always to be faithful to the nation, to the law, and to the king ; to maintain the constitution decreed by the national assembly, and accepted by the king ; to protect, according to law, the security of persons and of property, the free circulation of corn and subsistence throughout the kingdom, and the collection of public taxes of every description ; and to remain united to the French in fraternal and indissoluble bonds.” The deputies of the regular troops and militia, on the conclusion of the oath, repeated aloud, “ I SWEAR.”

The marquis was followed by the president of the national assembly ; “ I swear to be faithful
to

“ to the nation, the law, and the king; and to
“ maintain, with all my power, the constitution,
“ as decreed by the national assembly, and ac-
“ cepted by the king;” each deputy repeating
aloud, after their president, “ I SWEAR.”

The sovereign himself, then stretching his arm towards the altar, amidst a religious silence, slowly and distinctly pronounced; “ *I, King of the French*, swear to the nation to employ all the power which is delegated to me by the constitutional law of the state, to maintain the constitution, and to enforce the execution of the law.” While fifteen hundred thousand voices rent the air with their acclamations, and ratified, with their plaudits, the sacred compact which established Louis the Sixteenth the monarch of a
GREAT AND FREE PEOPLE.

FINIS.

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